

Warner, Richard

Topographical Remarks, Relating To The South-Western Parts Of Hampshire To
Which Is Added A Descriptive Poem. In Two Volumes

Bd.: 1

London (1793)

Brit. 550 g-1

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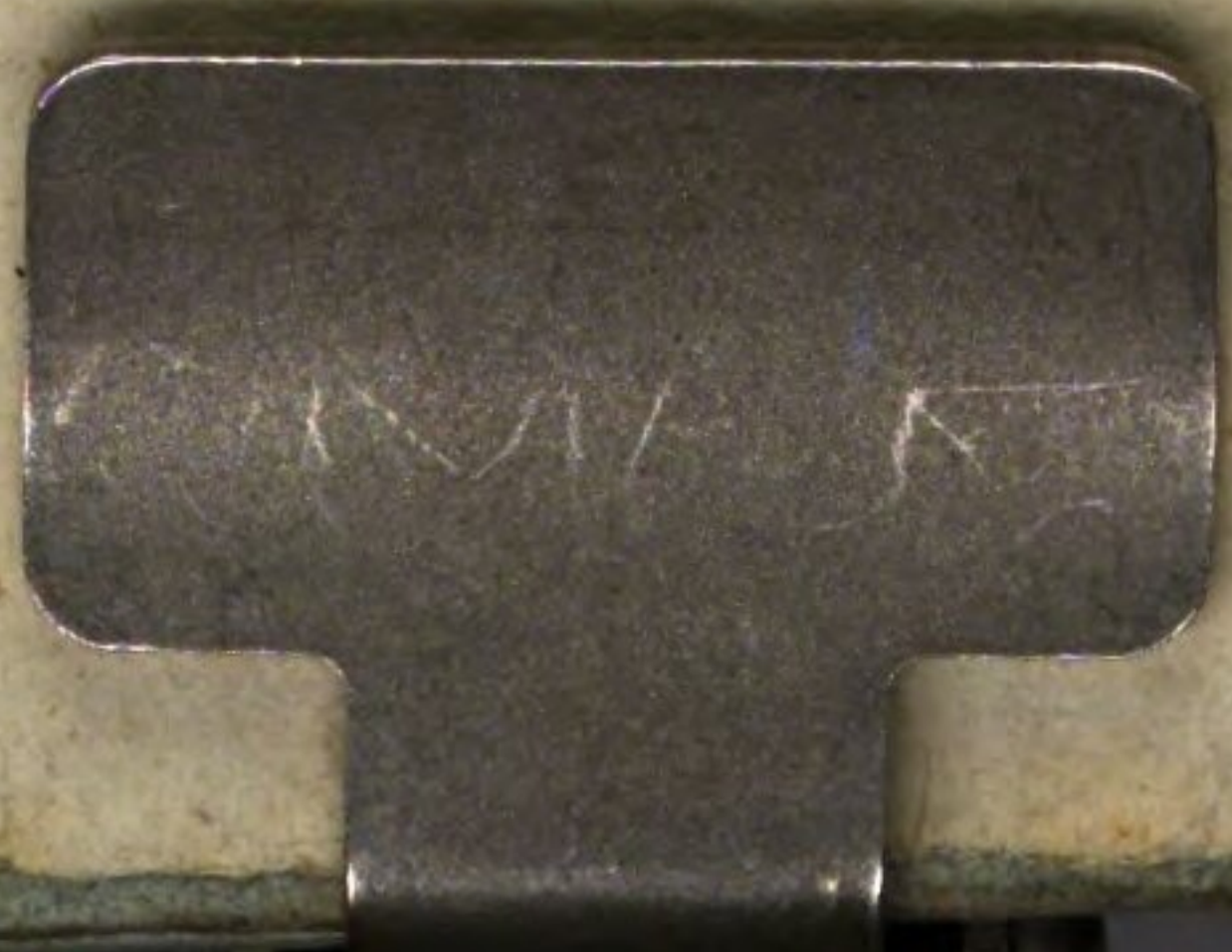
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Warner



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My dear Sir
I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your letter of the
10th inst. in relation to the
affairs of the Bank of England
and in reply to inform you
that the same has been forwarded
to the proper authorities for
their consideration. I am,
Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
John Bull

London
May 10th 1793

The Author of the Topographical Remarks respectfully informs the Public, that the Engravings intended to accompany his Work, were consumed, together with the Copper-Plates, &c. in a Fire which happened on Sunday the 28th of April, 1793, at the House of the Copper-Plate Printer, Mr. Pusbee, in Tottenham Street. As, however, he had advertized the Work for Publication, previous to the Accident, he deemed it more consistent, to present it to the World at a greatly-reduced Price, than to withhold it altogether.

London,

May 13th, 1793.

Topographical Remarks.

Topographical Remarks.

Topographical Remarks,

RELATING TO THE

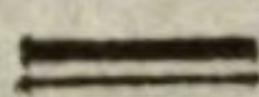
South-Western Parts

OF

H A M P S H I R E:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A DESCRIPTIVE POEM.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

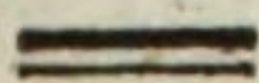
BY THE REV^D. RICHARD WARNER,

OF FAWLEY, NEAR SOUTHAMPTON.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. BLAMIRE, STRAND.



M.DCC.XCIII.



TO
Sir HARRY BURRARD Bart.

OF
WALHAMPTON, NEAR LYMINGTON.

DEAR SIR,

I REQUEST your acceptance of a few TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS, which occurred to me during my residence in the neighbourhood of Lymington.

As they relate *chiefly*, to a tract of country hitherto unnoticed by the antiquarian, I offer them to you with the less diffidence; in the hope, that their novelty may atone, in some degree, for the imperfections which, I fear, they will be found to possess.

You will perceive, however, I have not confined myself *entirely* to localities in the following work; but endeavoured by general observations, and occasional disquisitions, (il-
a lustrative

lustrative, at the same time, of the objects of my description) to render it amusing to readers unconnected with the tract I have gone over, as well as to those who are resident, or otherways interested in it.

That so little has hitherto been done, towards the developement of the antiquities, and history of Hampshire, must be to all, a matter of some astonishment. And our portion of wonder will be doubled, when we reflect, that no other division of the kingdom, affords more materials for the pen of the topographer than this—The many Celtic, and Belgic earth-works; Roman stations, and camps; examples of Saxon, and Danish castrametation; and remains of ancient castles, and religious edifices, which it contains, promise the amplest harvest for the investigation of the antiquarian: whilst the circumstance of its having been the seat of the West-Saxon monarchs; and the theatre of many important battles, and remarkable parliaments, renders its history intimately connected with the most important events of the English annals.

To

To attempt supplying this *desideratum* in our national topography, by compiling, and publishing an history of this county, has been, you know Sir, for some time, my intention; provided the plan chalked out for the purpose, and lately submitted to the public, meet the approbation of the gentlemen of Hampshire.

Should that degree of encouragement, however, be wanting, which might be necessary to animate me to the intended undertaking; my best thanks would still be due to yourself, and those other respectable characters, whose regard for the arts, and desire to promote literature in every branch, induced them to sanction my plan with the patronage of their names.

I am, dear SIR,

Your obliged Friend

and obedient Servant,

Richard Warner Jun^r.

*Fawley Parsonage, }
March 15th, 1793. }*

To attempt supplying the deficiency in
our national topography, by compiling and
publishing an history of the country, has
been, you know Sir, for some time, my
constant project; the plan sketched out for
the purpose, and lately submitted to the
public, meet the approbation of the gentlemen
of the University.

I should that degree of encouragement, how-
ever, be wanting, which might be necessary
to animate me to the intended undertaking;
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names.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged Friend,

and obedient Servant,

Richard Warner

London
Nov. 1793

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Topographical Remarks.

CHAPTER I.

LYMINGTON; *Particulars of its ancient and modern History.*

ANCIENT traditions and early history, paint the original inhabitants of almost all nations in nearly the same disgusting colours; as fierce, ignorant, and solitary beings: little superior to the brute in *intellect*, and far beneath him in *forefight* and *contrivance*.

Mutum et turpe pecus*.

Depending for his daily food on the doubtful labours of the chace or the precarious

* A speechless, wretched, herd. "Genus hominum agreste, sine legibus sine imperio." Sal.

operation of fishing—trusting for shelter to habitations formed by nature, the recesses of the cavern, or branches of the tree—devouring his uncertain and hard-earned meal in fullen silence—scorning every idea of subordination or conformity to the will of others, but blindly following the capricious impulses of his own passions—this seems to be the true but wretched picture of the *human savage*, in his original state :

“ Who roving, mix’d
 “ With beasts of prey ; or for his acorn-meal
 “ Fought the fierce, tusky boar : a shiv’ring wretch !
 “ Aghast and comfortless, when the bleak north,
 “ With winter charged, let the mix’d tempest fly,
 “ Hail, rain, and snow, and bitter breathing frost.”

Man, however, did not long continue thus a solitary barbarian. Led by that appetite for society which philosophers contend is inherent in his nature* ; or impelled by a consciousness of various wants he could not satisfy, and numberless inconveniences he could not

* Man is considered by all the Grecian moralists as a being naturally prone to society : *Epicetus* and *Antoninus* are perpetually calling him, “ Ζων λογικον και πολιτικον ; Ζων λογικον και κοινωνικον,” an animal rational and social.

remove, while unassisted and alone; he soon perceived the necessity of quitting the licentious independence of solitude, and of herding among his fellow creatures.

There being but few preliminaries to settle, the bond of social union was quickly formed—Man was content to relinquish a part of his natural liberty, and to receive the comforts and benefits of society in return. The effects of this compact became speedily visible. The brutish manners and selfish sentiments of savage solitude were shaken off, and renounced—Laws to restrain violence and oppression were established; governors appointed; and towns erected for the associated body*.

To this state of civilization, for so I call it when compared with the primæval state of man, the Celtic inhabitants of Britain had attained, at the period of Cæsar's landing on its coast.

That invader found the Britons, at least such of them as dwelt in the maritime parts

* Oppida cæperunt munire, et ponere leges. Hor.

of the island*, in possession of many of the comforts, if not the luxuries of life—Tillage, and agriculture were practised among them—Notions of subordination, and certain maxims of civil government, were established—The advantages of commerce had been long experienced; and the inhabitants of the sea coasts, were assembled together in towns†.

The southern parts of Hampshire, were probably, at this period, advanced a step forwarder in civilization than the rest of the kingdom. According to the testimony of an ancient historian, the Isle of Wight had been long the grand emporium of British commerce‡. Here, originally, the Phœnician tra-

* As Cæsar only saw the *south-eastern* coasts of Britain, he could in course speak of these alone; we have reason to think however, that the same civilization prevailed in the other maritime and trading parts of the kingdom. Cæsar's words are *Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt.* Lib. 5. c. 9.

† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Lib. 4, et 5. c. 10. 11. Cambell's Polit. Survey of Brit. vol. I. p. 296.

‡ Diodorus Siculus Bib. Hist. L. 2. c. 1. There have been doubts indeed, among the learned, whether Diodorus, in the passage referred to, speaks of the Isle of Wight or not. The weight of argument however, inclines to the affirmative of the question. See Whitaker's History of Manchester; et infra.

ders,

ders, and afterwards the Grecian gallies and ships of Armorica, carried the wares of their respective countries, to exchange them for the tin of Cornwall, which the people of that province brought by land-carriage, into the neighbourhood of Lymington.

The commerical intercourse thus maintained by the inhabitants of this part of Britain, with enlightened nations, had a natural tendency to soften their rugged manners, and give them a taste for society and civilization: and this effect we find to have taken place, for the same historian tells us, that such of the Britons as enjoyed this intercourse with the foreign merchants, had already made some progress in the arts, and practised the modes of civilized life*.

From these premises then, I am led to conclude, that many towns existed on the south-western shore of Britain, previous to the descent of Julius Cæsar, and that one of them occupied the site of the present town of Ly-

* The words of Diodorus are as follow. Της γὰρ Βρετανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτηρίου το καλεσμενον Βελεριον οἱ κατοικῶντες φιλοξένοι τὰ διαφέροντως εἰσι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπορῶν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγὰς. Lib. 5. c. 8. p. 209.

mington. The situation is so particularly well calculated for the purposes of commerce, and its distance from the Isle of Wight, their great mart, so trifling; that we can hardly suppose the Britons could overlook it. And I am greatly strengthened in this opinion, when I consider the name the town now bears, which seems to be of genuine Celtic extraction*. From the old British names which continue to distinguish an infinite number of cities and towns, even to the present day, in this country, it is certain that places here, anciently received appellations from the *circumstances of their situations*†. Lymington, I apprehend, to be an

* The literal signification of the word *Limintun*, (as it should be written), is, *a town situated on a stream, or torrent of water*: from the British *Limii i ii*, a stream of water (Baxter's Etymolog. in voc. *Limia*) and the Saxon appellative *tun, tun, or ton* (added, in after times) which signifies, an hedge, wall, village, or town; vide Gloss. ad Calc. Sax. Chron. apud Gibson. The *g* in Lymington, was foisted into the word, within these three centuries. In Domesday Book, the manor is called *Lentune*: in the reign of Edward the Ist. *Lemynton* (Lib. Cotidian. Garderob. p. 89) and in several charters, given in the appendix, *Lementun*; *Liminton*, &c. always without the *g*.

† In support of this assertion, I might adduce the authority of Camden, Lluyd, Borlace, and other antiquarians. I shall be content

an instance of this; and from the analogy between the name it now is known by, and the local circumstances above alluded to, I have little doubt, that the old Celtic inhabitants of this kingdom, occupied a village or

content however to give the following anecdote communicated to me by my well-informed friend the Rev. William Jackson vicar of Christ-church, to whom I am indebted for several curious particulars relative to that ancient town. A gentleman well known in the literary world, (who related the circumstance to Mr. Jackson) was some years since in company with Dr. Littleton then Bishop of Carlisle, and the ingenious editor of Ossian. The conversation turned on the subject of local etymologies; when Mr. Macpherson declared, he could from his knowledge of the Celtic tongue, particularize the situation of any town, or village, which continued to bear its ancient name, however corrupted, though he had never seen or heard of the place before. The Bishop requested our antiquarian to make trial of his skill, and on his compliance, propounded to him the names of half a dozen obscure villages within his diocese, places of which Mr. M. had not the least knowledge. As Dr. Lyttleton pronounced the name of each, Mr. Macpherson described to him the circumstances of its situation; " This, said " he, is seated in a deep valley; this, on the declivity of a " mountain; and a third, is nearly insulated by the meandering " river on which it stands;" and thus he went through the list, to the astonishment of the Bishop, who could hardly be persuaded but that he had some previous knowledge of the places in question.

town, near the spot, on which it at present stands*.

Whether however, the Britons ever availed themselves of the local advantages of Lymington or not, is a point which will be considered by most as problematical; but that their conquerors did not altogether neglect them, cannot be disputed. To say nothing, at present, of those vast examples of Roman labour in its neighbourhood, which having existed for almost seventeen centuries, serve now to attest the presence of that indefatigable people there: the fact will be established, by remarking, that a large quantity of their coins have been within the present century, dug up in the heart

* The Britons, I would further observe, were fond of maritime situations, both for the sake of commercial intercourse, and the opportunities it gave them of manufacturing salt; large quantities of which, they used in preserving their meat: an art they are said to have possessed. Their mode of producing this article was rather extraordinary. They heaped a number of trees together, and set them on fire. When they were reduced to charcoal, they poured a certain quantity of sea water upon the heap, which produced a concretion somewhat similar to salt. Strabo, L. 4. p. 197. Some German tribes practised the same method. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 13. c. 57.

of the town* ; an unquestionable proof of their residence on this spot. Indeed the active spirit of Roman industry, would draw many advantages from the neighbourhood of Lymington, which might induce them to be stationary there. It's situation was admirably calculated for the production of salt, an article extensively useful; and from the duties on which, the Roman government received considerable emolument†. Add to this, it was opposite to the coast of Gaul; and watered by a copious stream, sufficiently wide and deep to receive the largest ships the Roman marine could boast; an advantageous circumstance never disregarded by these wary conquerors.

I pass over the early and obscure æra of Anglo-Saxon history, with only remarking, that it is highly probable the Britons of the southern part of Hampshire, did not relinquish to the

* Gough's edition of Cambden, v. 1. p. 132. The late respectable Sir Harry Burrard, Bart. of Walhampton, near Lymington, informed me, that about half a century since, a large urn, filled with coins, was dug up at Norley wood; a place two miles and a half due east from Lymington. Mr. Gough, in his superb and elaborate edition of Cambden, says, he has a brass coin of Tetricus Senior; Reverse Lætitia Aug. found at Lymington.

† Cambell's Polit. Survey of Brit. v. 2. p. 491, et Note (1.)

Saxons,

Saxons, all that is dear to human nature, without some strenuous struggles; nor perish altogether unrevenge^d*. This I infer from the numerous *Tumuli* scattered around the neighbourhood of Lymington, many of which cover the remains of such of the invaders, as fell in the unequal contest between them and the unfortunate Britons.

Lymington as well as the country about it, was unquestionably involved in the wide scene of desolation, which the Danes for the period of one hundred and fifty years repeatedly occasioned, on the western, and southern shores of England. The Saxon Chronicle frequently mentions them, as laying waste with fire and sword, the Isle of Wight and the adjoining parts†. Dreadful, indeed, must have been the

* The character of the *Belgic* Britons, inhabiting the Southern coasts of England, was, in Cæsar's time, marked by a gallantry and fierceness, superior to the neighbouring tribes. "Horum omnium, fortissimi sunt Belgæ." De Bell. Gall. L. 1—That they retained some sparks of their original bravery, seems probable, from the number of earth-works, and tumuli in this part of the kingdom: which clearly prove, that the Saxons did not push their acquisitions here, quite so rapidly, nor with so little trouble, as in many other places.

† Vide Sax. Chron. apud Gibson. p. 129. 131. 132. 135. et 138.

miseries which the maritime inhabitants of the kingdom suffered in these times, when an enemy fierce and inexorable, whose pride was rapine, and religion slaughter; whom neither oaths could bind, nor presents gain, was continually hovering on their coasts; waiting for opportunities to destroy their property, and spill their blood!

An ancient author gives us the following deplorable picture of England, during the period it groaned under the ravages of the Danes. Through all the provinces of the realm, says he, the fields were desolated, and villages destroyed; the cities were burned, and churches plundered. Multitudes of ecclesiastics fell by the sword; numbers perished in the flames; some were hurled from precipices; and others hanged. The streets were crowded with distracted matrons. Infants, torn from the mother's breast, were transfixed with lances, or ground to atoms beneath the wheels of carriages*—Well might the miserable Anglo-Saxons

* Jam vero, per omnes provincias agris vastatis, villis prædatis, civitatibus crematis, ecclesiis spoliatis, clericorum et monachorum, aliis ferro jugulatis, aliis flammis consumptis, aliis de muris præcipitatis, aliis suspensis; matronis omnibus per plateas

Saxons insert a petition in their daily ritual, to be delivered from an enemy, capable of such horrid cruelties as these†.

The first recorded account which I meet with of Lymington, is contained in that venerable monument of antiquity Domesday-Book; where it occurs in the following terms.

“ Ipse comes tenet unam hidam in *Lentune*‡; et *Fulcuinus* de eo. *Leving* tenuit

plateas distractis, et demum ignibus injectis; parvulis a matrum uberibus avulsis, aut lanceis exceptis, aut superacto carro, minutatim contritis, &c. Alured. Bever. Annal. L. 8. p. 114 —Vide, quoque, Osbernus de Vit. S. Elphegi Arch. Cant. Ang. Sac. Torn. 2. p. 135.

† “ A furore Normannorum, eripe nos domine;” was the short, but emphatic petition, introduced into the Anglo-Saxon Litany of the 10th century. The Danes, and other Scandic tribes, were all included in the general appellation of *Normanni*, because they were *men*, who came from the *North*.

‡ *Lentune*, a corruption of Limintun, written, probably, according to the Norman pronunciation of the word. For the clerks who drew up the Rotuli from which Domesday-Book was compiled, being Normans, the names of places, were spelled, according to the orthography of that people. Brady’s Hist. Eng. in Pref.—Hence arises an almost universal difference, in the names of places, as they occur in Domesday-Book, and as they are at present pronounced: from which circumstance, as Mr. Warton observes, we cannot always appeal with certainty to this ancient, and venerable record; which would otherwise have possessed the highest authority, and, have afforded information, now, never to be obtained. Hist. Kid. p. 29. Note (p.)

“ in

“ in paragio. Tunc pro una hida ; modo, pro
 “ dimidia, quia *silva* est in Foresta. Ibi unus
 “ villanus, 2 servi, et 3 bordarii habent 1
 “ carucatam, et 4 acras prati. Tempore
 “ Regis Edwardi, valebat 20 solidos ; et post,
 “ et modo, 15 solidos*.”

The passage may be thus Englished.

The same earl possesses one hide in Lentune ;
 and Fulcuin holds under him. Leving formerly
 held it in parcenary†. It was, at that
 time, assessed at one hide‡. It is now assessed
 at half a one, because the wood is thrown into
 the Forest§. Here are two ploughlands||.

* Hampshire extracted from Domesday-Book, p. 260, quarto ;
 Faulder, 1789.

† Parcenary. This tenure, which is of Norman origin,
 implied the younger brother holding his feif of the elder ; and
 the latter of a superior lord ; but both continuing in the homage
 and service. Grand Constumier c. 28. 30. Gloss. ad Calc.
 Domesday Hampshire, in verb.

‡ The Hyde contained one hundred Norman acres, which
 were equal to one hundred and twenty English ones. Idem
 Gloss.

§ The situation of this wood is nearly defined, to this day
 by the two hamlets, called upper and lower woodside.—These,
 probably, skirted the wood, which stretched from Lymington to
 Pennington.

|| That is, a sufficient quantity of land to occupy two ploughs.
 Here,

Here one villain*, two slaves, and three borderers, occupy one ploughland, and four acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward (the confessor) its annual worth was twenty shillings. It was afterwards, and is now, worth fifteen shillings annually.

On the above extract I wish to make the following observations.

In the first place, I remark, that from the slight mention made of Lymington, the only one which occurs in this famous record, one would be apt to suppose it must have been an insignificant village, at the period of the survey. I am, however, of a contrary opinion, and for these reasons.

The primary intention of the conqueror in making the extensive survey which Domesday-book exhibits, was, to gain an accurate know-

* The difference between the Servi, and Villani, was, the former had no property *at their own disposal* themselves, and whatever they could acquire, belonged to the lord, whose work they performed, and were supported by him. The latter held their lands on the precarious tenure of the lord's will, but paid a fixed rent to him for the same, and the fruits of their labor, after this payment, belonged to themselves. They were, however, a kind of *live stock*, and transferable with the Manor. Du Cange Gloss. in voc.

ledge of his own demesne possessions, and the lands of his followers, the great feudatory lords, who held *in capite* under him; that he might be acquainted, with the real and exact value of the former, and the quantity of hidage, or land-tax, which was, or ought to have been paid, by the latter. Hence it happened, that the under-tenants, and such as lived in little trading towns, who held no *landed* property, but trafficked under the protection of their immediate lord; are not, in a variety of instances, taken notice of in the survey. Accountable only to the lord of the fee, whose permission to trade they obtained by certain annual rents, suits, and services; or whose protection was voluntarily offered them; they were altogether absolved from the land-tax or hidage termed the Geld, and therefore without there was some gabelle payable by them to the crown, as *tenants of houses* (as in the instance of a few houses in *Thuinam*, Christchurch, which paid a rent of sixteen pence to the king) there was no occasion to make mention of them in the domes-day survey. Besides no notice occurs in the above extract of the salt works at Lymington; which, most probably, subsisted there in the Saxon times, and

and which we know from documents now remaining, were in existence at the conquest, or a very few years after it. These, indisputably, would have been minuted in the survey of Lymington, had the clerks employed on the occasion intended to have recorded every thing accurately. Add to this too, we see nothing of the church or chapel, although it is reasonable to suppose, there must have been one here at the compilation of domes-day book, since Baldwin de Redvers, who lived about seventy years afterwards, in a grant to the Canons of Christ-church, confirms the donation of his *grandfather*, of the church (among other things) of *Boldre*, with his chapels of *Brocheberst* (*Brockenburst*) and *Limenton**. All these circumstances, I say, taken together, amount nearly to a certainty, that the minute made in Domesday-Book, and cited above, relates, not to the *town*, but to the *manor*, of Lymington; in other words, to that district of land which from a very early period had been called so, from the name of the principal village or town within it.

* Vide Appen. N°. 19.

The Earl, or *Comes*, who is said to have been in possession of the manor of Lymington at the æra of the general survey, was Rogerius, or Roger de Yvery; a nobleman who had accompanied the conqueror in his expedition to England*. On the numerous soldiers of fortune who followed him on this occasion, William bestowed possessions with a degree of lavish magnificence, that almost exceeds belief—The fidelity of Earl Moreton was recompenced by a donation of seven hundred and ninety-three manors. Odo Bishop of Baieux, received from the hand of his brother four hundred and thirty-nine manors—Hugo de Port, reckoned upwards of four hundred within his domain—Henry de Ferrers one hundred and seventy-six, and many other Norman noblemen, an equal, or a greater number†.

Domes-day book evinces, that Comes Rogerius tasted largely of the conqueror's bounty: numerous and extensive manors occur in that

* Register Ofeney Abbey, MS. in Bib. Christ. Ecc. Coll. Oxon.

† Kelham's Key to Dom. Book. Brady's Pref. to Hist. Eng. Dissertation on Dom. Book prefixed to Hutchins's Hist. Dorset.

record, in the counties of Huntingdon, Oxford, Warwick, and Gloucester, as belonging to him ; exclusive of his possessions in Hampshire. Perhaps he was as worthy an object of the monarch's liberality as any of his followers. His character seems to have been particularly amiable considering the age in which he lived. Gallantry in battle, and fidelity in friendship, were the leading features of it—I relate the following anecdote as it has a reference, as well to the possessor of Lymington seven hundred years ago ; as to the ancestor of an ancient and honorable family, a branch of which lives in its neighbourhood at present.

At the æra of the Norman invasion Roger de Yvery, and another noble Norman Robert D'Oiley, were connected together by the strictest ties of friendship. In the rash, and romantic enterprize Duke William was about to undertake, (for notwithstanding its success, it was without dispute highly so) these two brother-soldiers and friends, were engaged ; and in the true spirit of the times, agreed, by the interchange of mutual oaths, to divide equally between them all such lands and possessions, as the fortune of their swords might atchieve, or the liberality of their leader might confer

confer on them, in this mighty expedition. After its successful termination, the conqueror largely recompensed the valour of both. In the course of a short time, however, a prodigious acquisition of territory, fell to the lot of Robert D'Oily, by his marriage with Alditha, the only daughter and heir of Wigod de Wallingford, a potent Saxon lord, who inherited great estates—Here it seemed, the compact made between the two friends could not be expected to operate: for as the marriage was an event which happened a considerable time posterior to the conquest, Robert might with some appearance of justice have urged, that it could not come within the terms of an agreement which extended only to the immediate consequences of the enterprise. The generous Norman notwithstanding, thought differently; and nobly divided with his friend the additional estates he then became possessed of. Roger de Yvery had for his share, considerable tracts of land, and amongst the rest an honor in the county of Oxford, which then received, and has since been known by the name of the barony of Yvery*.

* Kennet Ant. Collins's Peerage.

A rare instance this, of high honor and unbroken faith, in an age when agreements ratified by oaths were considered as binding, so long only as it appeared to be the interest of either party to keep them.

The vast estates of Roger de Yvery which he thus possessed through the favor of his prince, and the generosity of his friend, devolved at his decease, on his son, a youth of the same name with himself. This Baron also, the second Norman possessed of Lymington, seems to have been a soldier of considerable merit. As long as the conqueror lived, he continued his faithful adherent, and friend; but on William's decease, and the unjust seizure of the crown by Rufus, disgusted, either at the tyrant's usurpation, or his ferocious and arbitrary manners, Roger de Yvery inrolled himself in the number of the Barons who adhered to Robert, and raising a considerable body of forces, committed much havock and devastation in the county of Leicester*.

* Collins's Peerage.

This insurrection, however, was not attended with the success its motive merited. The monarch by force and policy, soon quelled it; and Earl Roger with several other malecontent Barons, being obliged to leave the kingdom, to avoid the rage of the irritated tyrant, their large possessions were forfeited, and Lymington, among the rest, escheated to the crown.

It continued annexed to the royal demesne, till the reign of Henry Ist; who granted it, together with the Lordship of the Isle of Wight, the Borough of Christ-church, and a large tract of land extending from thence to Beaulieu*, to Richard de Repariis, or Redvers, a Baron descended from one of the noblest families of Normandy; who had been a steady adherent of the monarch, in the various scenes of tumultuous contest by which his reign was disturbed†.

* A memento of this royal grant, is presented, in the name of the farm, near Boldre Church; which is even now called *Roydon*, or king's gift.

† Worsley's Hist. Isle of Wight, p. 51. Dugdale's Baron. tom. 1. p. 254, et Appendix N^o. 17, 18, 19.

Lymington coming thus into the possession of a powerful and opulent Baron, the advantages of its situation became objects of particular attention. Its salt-works quickly increased in value; and a port being established, the wines of France, and other foreign commodities, were unshipped at its quays*.—Trammelled by the superstitious reverence for the monastic character which infected his age, Richard de Redvers bestowed ample donations on all the religious houses in his neighbourhood. Quarre Abbey, in the Isle of Wight, partook of his bounty; and a tithe of the salt of Lymington, was given by him to this monastery, a short time after he had been in possession of the town: a grant which his son Baldwin, augmented and confirmed†, for the salvation of the souls, as he expresses it, of his mother, himself, and all his ancestors. Donations to the church and bequests to pampered monastics, being considered at that time, as the most certain means of conciliating the favor of offended heaven, and making atonement for every species of moral turpitude.

* Rot. Parl. 3. Edward I.

† Appendix, N^o. 1.

Lymington continued to be a part of the large possessions of the De Redvers family, till the latter end of the thirteenth century; when the policy of Edward the III^d, availing himself of that indifference to temporal concerns, which usually marks the last hours of expiring age; prevailed on Isabella de Fortibus, the heiress of the Redvers family, and inheritrix of their ample estates, to make over to him by deed, on her death-bed, (for the sum of six thousand marks) the Lordship of the Isle of Wight, and such other honors as she possessed in the county of Hants. Hugh de Courtnay, Baron of Oakhampton in the county of Devon, the next heir of the deceased, suspecting the equity of this transaction, instituted a claim to the estates, and petitioned the parliament to set aside this questionable conveyance—The matter was therefore scrutinized, and witnesses examined on each side of the question; when after a full hearing, the parliament authenticated the deed by which Isabella had passed away her possessions, and Earl Hugh's claim was in course disallowed*.

* Rot. Parl. 8 & 9, Edward II. See the proceedings in Sir Richard Worsley's Appen. Hist. Isle Wight.

The great object of Edward in this mysterious purchase, was to wrest from the hands of a subject, so considerable and dangerous an honor, as the Lordship of the Isle of Wight, which without dispute must have been a continual source of jealousy to the crown; as its possessors exercised the rights of sovereignty uncontrouled, within its limits; and could at any time, when actuated by caprice, or prompted by resentment, occasion by the power and situation of this demesne, considerable uneasiness to the reigning prince. Edward therefore having gotten the Isle of Wight into his possession, his chief wish was gratified; and he seems to have returned to the heir of Isabella de Fortibus, a trifling part of the other estates, as some consolation for his disappointment. Somewhat of this kind I am led to imagine; since I find that at the decease of this Baron, a few years afterwards, the manor of Lymington, was numbered amongst his other possessions*. In this family I think it continued, till the year 1538, the 29th year of Henry VIIIth; when Henry Courtnay Earl of Devonshire,

* Collins's Peerage, v. VI. p. 458.

being

being convicted of treason, the all-grasping hand of the king, seized the lands of this victim of his tyranny, and annexed them to the crown. The concluding scenes of this nobleman's life, afford a strong example of the instability of mortal grandeur, and as such should be a solemn monition to human pride. Caressed and esteemed by his prince, honors and estates accumulated thick upon him—In 1522 he received from Henry the Lordship of Caliland in Cornwall, and a splendid mansion, which had belonged to the attainted Duke of Buckingham, near London. Three years afterwards, the title of Marquis was conferred upon him. In 1529 he subscribed to the articles exhibited against Wolsey. In 1536 gave his vote against the unfortunate Anna Bulleyn. In 1538, filled the exalted, and important office of high steward, at the trial of the Lords D'Arcy, and Hufsey: and in the ensuing January—he bowed his own neck on Tower Hill, to the axe of the executioner*.

* Collins's Peerage.

" Such is the state of man. To day he puts forth
 " The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,
 " And bears his blushing honors thick upon him:
 " The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost;
 " And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
 " His greatness is a ripening—nips his root,
 " And then he falls."

One of the advantages, which a village or town derived in former times, from the protection of a powerful possessor, was a freedom of *trading*, under a certain yearly rent, paid to the lord, in return for the privilege. The liberty of carrying on a foreign traffic was possessed by the inhabitants of Lymington; who, as I hinted before, imported considerable quantities of the continental wines. I find also, by an ancient *quo warranto*, that a *fair* was established in the town, so far back as the 8th of Edward IId, a convenience it probably enjoyed, from some charter of franchises, granted by the De Redvers family, which has long since perished, and is now forgotten.

With respect to these appointed periods of public concourse, it may in some degree develop the manners of our ancestors to observe, that in ancient times, when large commercial towns were few in number; and when there was no communication even between them
 and

and distant parts of the kingdom; the *fair* was the grand emporium, of all the conveniences and luxuries of life; to which mart, the inhabitants of the adjoining country flocked, to lay in their stock of necessaries for the ensuing year*. These fairs were productive of considerable advantage to the lord of the district in which they were holden, as well as of convenience to the surrounding country. For every one who attended as a *seller*, paid a certain toll proportioned to the quantity of the articles he vended: and the purchaser, who came from afar, was content in a lawless and pillaging age, to render his tribute to the lord's bailiff, for safe conduct in going to and from the fair, and for protection during the time he continued there†.

I have observed above, that it was customary at these annual marts, for families to purchase their household stores for the year's consump-

* Fairs or wakes, had their origin, not in a view to *public convenience*, but, like most other institutions of the dark ages, in the errors of superstition. They grew out of those large assemblies, which, in the early corruptions of christianity, used to meet at the dedication of churches, or on the anniversaries of favorite saints. Du Fresne in voc. *Feriae*.

† Du Fresne ut supra.

tion. Among these were included, *carcasses* of such animals as served culinary purposes; which being *salted* and *barrelled* up, were exposed to sale at such periods. For so entirely was the time of our ancestors employed, in waging foreign wars, settling domestic disputes, or following the sports of the field; that no attention was paid to *grazing*, one material branch of modern husbandry: and few, or none of the nobility, had a sufficient quantity of cattle, for the consumption of their families, notwithstanding the extensive demesnes, which most of them possessed. Habits of attention to agriculture and grazing cattle, had not gotten a footing amongst our great men, till the latter end of the seventeenth century. A remarkable instance of their disregard to the latter, occurs in the Northumberland household book; by which it appears, that one of the greatest Barons of the sixteenth century, was obliged to have recourse to fairs, for the carcasses of bullocks, and sheep, for the use of his family during the year; doubtless, because he could not furnish fat beasts from his own pastures. The regulation is couched in the following words. “ He that standes
 “ charged, with my lordes house, for the
 “ houll

“ houll yeare, if he may possible, *shall be at*
 “ *all faires*, where the groice emptions (gene-
 “ ral stock) shal be boughte for the house for
 “ the houlle yeare, as wine, wax, *beiffs*, mul-
 “ *tons*, (the carcasses of oxen, and sheep)
 “ wheite, and maltie*.” A passage, by the
 bye, which displays the importance of fairs,
 so late as the year 1512.

I find Lymington to have been a borough
 in the reign of Edward III. and as such, had
 summonses sent to it for the return of repre-
 sentatives. But it seems not to have complied
 with the precept; nor did its members attend
 the British senate, till the 27th of Queen
 Elizabeth†. In the reign of James I. its in-
 corporation by charter took place; after which,
 its returns became regular. In former times
 indeed, before the House of Commons had
 acquired its present weight and importance in
 the scale of the constitution, the right of re-
 presentation in parliament, was considered, by
 many towns, as a *burthen*; and there are in-
 stances on record, of boroughs petitioning to
 be excused from this expensive honor. The

* Northumberland Household Book, p. 407.

† Willis's Not. Parl. in pref.

representatives of towns in those days being, in general, chosen from among the *actual burgesses* of the different corporations, were unable, without assistance, to bear the heavy expences of travelling to and from the parliament; and accordingly they often found it necessary to apply to their constituents for a *regular salary*, while they continued thus employed in their service*. Hence, many boroughs whose resources were small, chose rather to wave the privilege of having particular guardians of their rights in the national senate, than to be loaded with an annual expence, which they could not conveniently support. The practice of this payment for parliamentary attendance, continued till the close of the last century; when it

* Among the archives of the town of Southampton, is a minute in the following words: 1st Hen. VII. Thomas Reynold rode fro Southampton to the parlement, Jan. 23, and returned Mar. 8, being six and forty days, and received for his parlement wages £.7 13s. 4d.—This allowance amounted to 40d. or 3s. 4d. per day. Book marked Water Works, fol. 155, 157. It was extremely common at this time, and during the two preceding centuries, for the sheriffs or other officers, to whom the writs for the election of members of parliament were committed, to return that such and such boroughs could not send representatives to the national senate, propter eorum *debilitatem*, et *paupertatem*, because of their inability and poverty.

expired

expired with the famous Andrew Marvell of facetious memory; who representing his native place, Kingston upon Hull, in two parliaments; the burgers allowed him a handsome stipend, for the support of his dignity, during the period of his public service*. The right of electing the representatives for Lymington, is at present vested in the mayor and burgesſes; though it appears by the corporation books, that the commonalty of the town anciently exerciſed the ſame privilege. At the latter end of the ſeventeenth century however, the right of election being diſputed, and each of the contending parties returning two members in ſupport of their reſpective pretenſions; the claims were inveſtigated by a committee of the Houſe of Commons, which after due deliberation, and inſpection of the town archives, reſolved; that the representatives of the

* Athenæ Oxon. V. II. p. 619. I am told there is preſerved in the corporation cheſt of Chriſt-church, a bond from Sir Peter Mew, (who repreſented that borough in parliament, about the beginning of the preſent century) to his conſtituents; the condition of which inſtrument, is, that he the ſaid Sir Peter Mew, will not demand any pecuniary reward of the burgesſes, or put the borough to any expence, on account of his ſervices in parliament.

borough of Lymington, appeared for the most part, to have been elected by the mayor and burgesſes, and that the right of ſo doing, ſhould in future be veſted in them.

The town under conſideration, gives the title of Viſcount, to the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Portſmouth.

This honor was firſt conferred, on the amiable John Wallop, by George I. in the fixth year of his reign; who raiſed him to the dignity of a peer, by the titles of Baron Wallop of Farley Wallop, and Viſcount Lymington, in the county of Southampton. The preamble to the patent which confers this dignity, deſerves inſertion, for the very judicious reaſons it gives, for the exaltation of the patentee.

“ Since of all the privileges that belong to
 “ the ſupreme authority, we eſteem that to be
 “ the moſt valuable, which enables us to give
 “ a juſt reward to thoſe men who deſerve well
 “ of their country. We have determined to
 “ place, among the peers, our truſty and
 “ well-beloved, John Wallop Eſquire, one
 “ of the lords of our treaſury; of a very
 “ ancient, and during the reign of our royal
 “ anceſtors, the Saxons in this iſland, of an
 “ illuſtrious family.

“ But

“ But we having had experience, in his
 “ executing public affairs, of those virtues that
 “ before adorned a private life ; candour of
 “ manners, integrity of mind, and skilfulness
 “ in business, we are persuaded, that the
 “ honors of the peerage, will neither be
 “ greater than his merit, nor conferred upon
 “ him sooner, than they were expected by all
 “ good men*.”

Little, if any, of the local history of Lymington is to be found in record. Tradition alone preserves a few particulars of its ancient state. A source of information which is not to be altogether despised ; since some authority is due to accounts transmitted without interruption from father to son, in places whose situation has precluded them from general communication. Tradition then assures us, that the town of Lymington has been fired and plundered *thrice*, in the destructive visits of the French†. Female presence of mind saved

* Collins's Peerage, V. V. p. 195.

† The town of Lymington, formerly, ran in a direction north and south, instead of east, and west. The epithets of *old* and *new*, applied to different parts of the town, seem to testify the truth of the tradition mentioned above.

it a fourth time. A party of these marauders had landed on a similar scheme of depredation : but the leader of it being extremely hungry, determined to satiate his appetite before he compleated the purpose of his visit. The tutelary genius of the place directed him to the habitation of a madam Dore, a person of some consequence, who at that instant was seated at a plentiful table.—The abrupt entrance of the foreign visitor, discovered to her in a moment, the danger which threatened the town and its inhabitants.—There was no time for deliberation. An intuitive quickness of thought, and an uncommon degree of fortitude, pointed out to her, immediately, the proper line of behaviour. She received the Frenchman, and his boisterous retinue, with the greatest affability ; produced all the delicacies of her house ; and enlivened the repast, with many sprightly remarks, and the most unrestrained pleasantry. The commander who possessed, I presume, a large share of national gallantry, was so fascinated by the winning manners, and profuse bounty of this generous hostess ; that he sacrificed his interest to his gratitude, and left the town without perpetrating the least act of devastation, or exaction.

The

The inhabitants of Lymington testified their dislike to the excesses of rebellion in the seventeenth century, by their assistance of Prince Charles, in an attempt he made to rescue his father, when confined in the castle of Carisbrook. In 1648 several ships from the parliamentary fleet, having revolted to the young Prince, he appeared before Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, with nineteen sail, and a body of two thousand men. A party of them he landed without much opposition; but the parliament having pre-occupied the place with some troops, under the command of Major Jermy, and the people of the town not affording him the assistance he expected, Charles after sustaining some little loss, was obliged to retire*. It is said that during his continuance in Yarmouth road, so deeply interested did the people of Lymington feel themselves in the success of his attempt, and so ardently did they desire the restoration of the imprisoned monarch, that the fleet was supplied by them with plenty of provisions, gratis; Mr. Dore, the mayor of the place at that time, having also engaged to take an inferior command in

* Whitlocke's memorials, p. 319, 320.

Charles's little army, in case it had gained a footing in the island.

One more anecdote on the authority of tradition, and we have done.—That facility in discovering means of extrication in cases of emergency, which so strongly marks the female character, was displayed in another instance at Lymington during the reign of James II. A large party of the leading people in the town and neighbourhood, firmly adhered to the cause of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth; and their usual place of assembling was the house of a Mrs. Knapton, who seems to have possessed a masculine spirit, and strong understanding*. One day the junto was convened, and deep in consultation over a pipe of tobacco and cann of strong beer, the great articles of regale in those days; when news

* After the unhappy termination of the battle of Sedgemore, and the destruction of Monmouth's hopes; his friends strongly advised him, to make towards Uphill, a creek on the Severne, and from thence into Wales. But the Duke (knowing he had many adherents in that town and neighbourhood) determined to seek Lymington. His attempt, however, failed; and tradition says, he was taken near Ringwood; from which place, he wrote an ineffectual, supplicating letter to the King. Kennet's hist. V. III. p. 432.

arrived,

arrived, that intelligence had been received of their meeting, and a party was at that moment entering the town for the purpose of apprehending them. The guests were instantly desired to make their escape through the back windows; the pipes were broken, drinking vessels hidden; and lest the effluvium of the tobacco should betray the secret of the meeting, our ingenious female involving her face in a flannel wrapper, took a lighted tube and smoked most vigorously.—When the party reached the house, they rushed impatiently into the room, where they expected to find the prey: but what was their surprise, to perceive nothing but an old woman, apparently in a violent paroxysm of the tooth-ache, endeavouring to remove her pain by fumigation.—The stratagem had its intended effect; and the party retired without making further search after the adherents of Monmouth.

The ancient church of Lymington, which probably perished in one of the desolating visits of the French, stood to the northward of the present town, on the right hand of that part of the turnpike road, called *Broad Lane*. A trace of its situation may be discovered in a semicircular hollow at this spot; where, as I

have been informed, remains of its foundation were visible in the beginning of the present century.

The oldest part of the existing church was built, I should judge, about the reign of Henry VI; and though a regular pile at first, consisting of a nave and two side isles, with a tower, or spire, in the center; it is become now, by various subsequent alterations extremely informal. The only objects in it worth notice are; a plain table monument with no inscription, standing in the vestry; the slab of which is composed of a single piece of marble, measuring nearly nine feet in length, and four in breadth*; and an elegant bust in white marble, of a Mr. Charles Colborne, executed by the famous Ryfbrack.

* Since writing the above, this monument has been removed, to admit certain alterations in the part of the church where it stood. The remains of the person who reposed beneath it, had been evidently disturbed, previous to this last exhumation; as the tibiæ were placed above the shoulders; and some of the ribs at the foot of the receptacle wherein the body lay, which was formed somewhat coffin-wise, with rough, unhewn stones.—The only remarkable circumstance observable in the remains, was, the number of teeth in each of the jaws, and the firmness with which they were fixed in the cancelli.

The

The following singular memorandum is inserted in the register, under the year 1736.
 “ Samuel Baldwyn Esquire, sojourner in this
 “ parish, was *immersed*, without the Needles,
 “ in Scratcher’s Bay, sans ceremonie, May
 “ 20th.” This was performed in consequence of an earnest wish he had expressed to that effect, a little before his dissolution.—And what reason dost thou think reader, could urge him to have his body cast into the ocean, rather than quietly committed to the earth? No motive of erring superstition.—No whim of bewildered reason.—But a determination to disappoint the intention of an *affectionate* wife; who had repeatedly assured him in their domestic squabbles, which were very frequent, that if providence permitted her to survive him, she would revenge her conjugal sufferings, by occasionally dancing on the turf that covered his remains.

———Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

The only manufacture ever carried to any height at Lymington is *salt*; for which it was formerly much celebrated*. This article was

* Cambell’s Polit. Survey, V. I. p. 151.

doubtless made very early on the coast of Hampshire. St. Ambrose, according to Camden*, speaks of it in terms of praise—The *Milford Salinæ* or salt-works, occur in domesday book†; and shortly afterwards, we find a tithe of the *Lymington salt* to have been given to the monks of Quare Abbey in the Isle of Wight‡—when these salt-works were in their zenith, which was about five and twenty years ago, I am told they returned into the exchequer, for duty alone, the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds. At that period the London markets were chiefly supplied by the Lymington salt-works, and some of their produce was taken off by the American merchants. Since then, however, they have been gradually declining; owing to the proprietors of the brine pits and rock-salts, in the north, and north-western parts of the kingdom, being able to undersell the Lymington manufacturers considerably§. The fact is, the process by which the marine salt

* Britan. Hamp. p. 123. Gibson's Edit.

† Hampshire extracted from Dom. Book,

‡ Appen. N^o. 1.

§ Cambell, V. I. p. 360.

is produced, requires the consumption of large quantities of coals ; which being brought from Sunderland and Newcastle, the original price of the article, the various expences attending the freight, delivery of it, &c. together with the duty, amount so high, that the Lymington consumer pays in the proportion of three to one, more than the northern manufacturer, for every chaldron of coals which he uses.

The manufactures of this article in the south of England, as soon as they perceived the disadvantages under which they laboured, and the ruin they were threatened with in consequence of them ; endeavoured to avert the evil by an application to parliament. They accordingly petitioned the House of Commons a few years since, stating their situation, and praying relief.—The assistance they required, was, an exemption from paying the duties on coals, used in the manufacture of salt ; or a drawback, tantamount thereto, to be allowed out of the salt duties, at the time they were paid. The legislature however, thought proper to refuse this exoneration ; so that it is probable the Lymington salt-works, would, e'er now, have been utterly extinguished, had not a seasonable demand for the salt sprung
up

up from Maryland and Virginia, which, together with a trifling exportation of it to the London market, still keep them in existence; though these casual demands, may be said rather to have protracted the æra of their dissolution, than to have invigorated, or increased the manufacture.

It seems indeed, as if the southern salt-manufacturers, had some reasonable foundation for their hopes, that parliament would have attended to the substance of their petition when it was presented; since one material object of national concern, the encouragement of navigation, was involved in the question. The quantities of coals consumed at the different ports on this coast, at which salt is made, were immense; and as they were all waterborne from Newcastle, or Sunderland hither, a large fleet of colliers, the best nursery of British sailors, was continually employed in the service. Add to this, the useful purposes, to which the *marine salt* may be almost exclusively applied, should seem to demand particular attention: I mean, the curing, and preserving of meat, butter, and cheese, for which it is notorious, this species is infinitely to be preferred to any other.

The

The process in manufacturing this necessary article of existence, is extremely simple.

The sea-water is first pumped into certain shallow quadrilateral reservoirs of earth, called salt-pans. In these it remains exposed to the influence of the sun, till a certain proportion of it's fresh particles are exhaled; so as to leave it seven times stronger than it was in its original state.—It is then conducted by another pump, into flat iron pans, of eight or nine feet square, and as many inches deep; which being placed over a fierce fire, the liquor or brine is boiled, until all the remaining fresh particles have passed off by evaporation, and nothing is left in the pans, but pure salt. This is thrown together into proper vessels for a few days, to drain; after which, it is fit for use.

It must not be forgotten that the best Glauber, or medicinal salts, are also made at Ly-mington; but the excessive duty of twenty pounds per ton upon them, has operated almost as a prohibition to their sale, and nearly ruined this branch of the salt manufacture.

The paper is in a state of being this necessary
article of science, is extremely simple.
The test water is put through into certain
allow partial removal of earth, called
the paper. In this it is then exposed to the
influence of the sun, till a certain proportion
of its fluid particles are detached, so as to
leave it seven times stronger than it was in
the original state. It is then conducted by
another pump, into flat iron pans, of eight or
nine feet square, and as many inches deep;
which being placed over a fierce fire, the
fluid or water is boiled, until all the remain-
ing fluid particles have passed off by evapo-
ration, and nothing is left in the pans, but
the salt. This is shown together into pro-
per vessels for a few days, to drain; after
which it is fit for use.
It must not be forgotten that the salt of Sulphur
or the animal salt, and also made at Ly-
mington; but the exclusive duty of twenty
pounds per ton upon them, has operated al-
most as a prohibition to their sale, and nearly
ruined this branch of the manufacture.

C H A P. II.

*Roman camp at Buckland. Tumuli on Sway
Common. Boldre and Brockenhurst.*

AMONG the innumerable memorials of ancient times, which meet the inquisitive eye of the antiquarian, in almost every part of Britain ; none occur so frequently, (at least in such places as have escaped the labors of the hind) as *earth-works*.

These efforts of human industry may be divided into three classes ; first, such as served hostile purposes, and were either stationary camps, or temporary entrenchments ; secondly, such as marked the limits of a conqueror's acquisitions, or bounded the possessions of neighbouring tribes ; thirdly, such as covered the remains of the slaughtered warrior, or were raised as trophies to his memory.

When we view these huge vallations, interminable boundaries, and spreading tumuli, we are at a loss, which to admire most ; the boldness of the design, or difficulty of the execution,

cution, in works, before which, the efforts of modern labour sink almost into nothing; works that could only have their origin, in the unbaffled patience of Roman exertions, or the tumultuary numbers of barbarian hosts.

Of these curious remains of antiquity, numerous instances are to be met with in the southern part of Hampshire; large tracts of which district having hitherto remained in their original, barren state;

“Non rastris hominum, non ulli obnoxia curæ;” the works of our ancestors, still continue uninjured, and almost entire.

I shall confine myself at present, however, to the description of such of these as lie immediately in the neighbourhood of Lymington; which require particular notice, since they prove that place, and the country immediately around it, to have been, in ancient days, the scene of active contest: the theatre, on which were displayed, at various times, the steady valour of the conquering Roman; the faint exertions of the forsaken Briton; and the irresistible assaults of the encroaching Saxon.

The first earth-work that claims our attention, on account, both of its antiquity and magnitude; is a *Roman camp*, about three
quarters

quarters of a mile to the north of Lymington, which preserves in the name it now bears, a hint of its former designation; being called Castle-field, or Buckland-rings. As this encampment has been thought by some, to be an instance of *Danish* castrametation*, I have been particular in my endeavours to ascertain its real authors; and the result of these endeavours, which I proceed to lay before the reader, will, I trust, induce him to assent to the opinion, that it owes its formation to the Romans.

From the works, remaining to our times, of such ancient authors as have written on the tactics of this extraordinary people, we learn, that castrametation was reduced to a system among them; built on certain settled principles, which the experience of ages had led them to adopt; and regulated by stated rules, from which they seldom deviated in practice†.

* Philosophical transactions, N^o. 475, p. 273.

† Ενος υπαρχοντος παρ' αυτοις θεωρηματος απλε περι τας παρεμβολας
 η χρωνται προς παντα καιρον κ' τοπον. Polybius de Castris, Edit.
 Stephani Amster. 1660.

The *form* of the camp was always either square or oblong*, with the corners rounded off†. The *situation*, if possible, on an eminence: both because it gave the encamped legions the view and command, of the country round, and also prevented the enemy from gaining the advantage of ground, and attacking them from above‡. It was regularly placed near a stream, or copious fountain of water§. A single vallum, and fosse sufficed them, except when the particular situation of the camp, required a greater number of vallations.—Its four sides usually faced the four cardinal points: and a *porta*, or entrance in each, permitted ingress, or egress to the soldiers||.

* Aspice speciem castrorum universam, *quadrata*, vel *quadrata oblonga* est. Prolegomena de Castris Hygini et Polybii, Edit. Amst. 1660.

† Angulos castrorum circinari oportet. Hyginus.

‡ Ne mons castris immineat per quem supervenire hostis, aut prospicere possit, quid in Castris agitur. Hyg.

§ Cæterum, quocunque Latere flumen sive fontem habere debet in qualicumque positione. Hyg.

|| Jam quatuor portæ, et ad eas ducentes, grandiores viæ media secant castra, quo neque multitudine portarum infirmetur munitio, et ab omni parte, educi et eruptione pugnare commode queant. Prolegom. ut supra.

These were the regulations observed by the Romans in forming a camp: which characteristic marks if Buckland-rings be found to possess, there will be no difficulty in determining, to what people it may be assigned.

The work in question then seems to have them all. Its *situation* is on an elevated spot of ground, higher than any part of the surrounding country; enjoying a most extensive, and sweeping prospect. At the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from its eastern extremity flows Lymington river, a copious stream, which the camp overlooks and commands. Its *form* is a long square; and the dimensions of the valla, and fossæ, accord precisely with those mentioned by Hyginus, Polybius, and Vegetius, as used by Romans on similar occasions. Its four sides stood exactly east, west, north, and south; and on the three existing ones, (for the western one was purposely levelled about fifty years ago) traces of the Portæ are still to be discerned.

There are indeed two circumstances, which might lead one to suspect, (if we had not strong reasons to counteract the suspicion) that Buckland-rings were formed according to the rules of a more artless, and capricious castrametation,

than the Roman system. The one is, the vallum on the north, south, and east sides being *treble*, and on the *west* only double*; an anomaly, I confess, rather uncommon in the earth-works of these people: and the other is, the interior vallum on the north forming, towards it's eastern extremity, an unusual sweep, or deviation from the straight line they in general affected to use. The former, however, may possibly be accounted for from the elevated situation, and irregular character of the ground; which obliged them to exceed their usual number of vallations: while the curvature of the northern vallum, seems to have been purposely permitted, to humour the undulations of two deep fosses, which nature had previously formed, in some degree at least, to their hands.

It will be observed also by the representation of the work in the annexed plate; that its southern side was continued rather further in an eastern direction, than the opposite one. The prolongation, however, is but trifling, being in the proportion of two hundred and ten to two hundred yards.

* The outer fosse towards the west, makes part of the high road from Buckland to Sway; it is sufficiently obvious there never was a third vallum on this part.

The dimensions of this encampment are as follow.

The length of the *area* from east to west, measuring it on the north side, two hundred yards.

The length from east to west, measuring it on the south, or prolonged side, two hundred and ten yards.

The breadth of the *area* towards the west, one hundred and twenty-five yards.

The breadth of ditto, towards the east, one hundred and thirty-five yards.

The circumference of the whole, pacing it according to the inner fosse, eight hundred yards.

The perpendicular height of the *inner* vallum, measured from the area, may be about eight feet; though it is rather irregular, being in many places, higher, and in others lower: an alteration which sixteen hundred years may well be thought to have effected.

Oblique height of the inner vallum, or length of the *slope* or *talus*, from the edge of the area, to the top of the rampart, thirty feet.

The breadth of the ditch taken from the tops of the inner, and second valla, about forty yards.

The whole work in it's original and compleat state, might cover about twenty acres of ground.

The annexed plate is engraved from a sketch of this encampment taken in 1720, when it was perfect: at present, only three sides of it remain; the *eastern* one having been levelled about half a century ago, by a farmer, who for the purpose of gaining a few roods of arable land, committed this sad depredation on one of the finest examples of Roman castrametation in the kingdom.

About two miles to the south-east of Castlefield, on a situation naturally exalted, stands a large regular mound of earth, (now called Mount Pleasant) which, I doubt not, was formerly the site of a Roman watch-tower, or *speculum*, and had a connection with the work described. It commands a wide view of the river, country adjacent, Isle of Wight, and ocean; and any signals made from hence, would be clearly seen not only at Buckland-rings, but over a very ample extent of country.

In addition to the arguments above advanced in favour of our encampment being the product of *Roman* labour, I adduce one more, which I think is sufficient to do away all hesitation respecting

specting its authors—The annexed plate represents two pieces of antiquity found in the area of the work we have been describing; the one marked (A) turned up about fifteen years ago by the plough, the other (B) discovered by similar means about twelve years since. They are both at present in my possession. With respect to the former, which, I presume, ascertains beyond a doubt the remote antiquity of Buckland-rings, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that it is one of those instruments which though rather varied in their forms, seem to have been intended for the same purposes, and are all indiscriminately denominated *Celts*.

Of these, great numbers are found in every part of the kingdom, and though various opinions have been entertained respecting their original use; yet the ablest antiquarians assign them an æra, at least as distant as that of the Romans here.

Some, with that wildness of fancy which at times marks the hypotheses of the antiquarian, imagine that the Celts were the *heads of walking staves*, which the more civilized Britons in time of peace carried in their hands*. Others

* Mr. Thoresby, Lelandi Itin. V. I. p. 117.

consider them as chissels, with which the inscriptions on the ancient sepulchral monuments of the Romans were engraven*. *Wormius* called them *wedges*, used by the *Cimbric*, and other northern nations in their wars; when they engaged hand to hand with the enemy†: whilst *Hearne* assigns them a place amongst the implements of Roman masonry, and concludes that they must have been of *admirable use* in forming their *aggeres*, consisting of earth, stone, and wood. An hypothesis which the general slenderness of their form entirely destroys‡. But the learned and rational Mr. *Borlase*, seems to have come nearest the truth, when he says they were the heads of spears, javelins, or arrows, used both by the provincial Romans of Britain, and by the Britons themselves§.

Perhaps indeed the fact is that *Celts* were originally *Gaulish* weapons||; introduced into Britain by such tribes of Gauls, as migrated

* *Begeri Branden. Antiq. V. 3. p. 419.*

† *Wormii Museum. p. 354.*

‡ *Apud. Leland. Itin. V. I. p. 119.*

§ *Borlases's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 286.*

|| Why should we not suppose them to have been the heads of the *Mataræ*, mentioned by *Cæsar*, which the Celtic nations hurled from their chariots of war? *Cæsar Lib. 1. De Bell. Gall.*

hither from their own country.—The Romans after subduing and civilizing this kingdom, finding the Celts to be weapons in general use among the conquered, which they managed with address and effect, wisely permitted such as were incorporated into their legions to continue the use of them; and after some time, even added them to their own list of military weapons; for they were too sagacious a people to disdain adopting an useful hint, though it were offered by a barbarian. And this hypothesis will account for the circumstance, of Celts being found as well in places where vestiges of the presence of the Romans remain, as in spots in which no traces of them are to be discerned. The palm of antiquity may in these cases be given to the latter, since they were probably used by the Britons previous to the arrival of their conquerors, or at least before the custom of incorporating them into the Roman legions took place.

The Celt said above to have been found on Buckland-rings, seems to be of the most simple kind, having no socket, ring, or perforation, by which it might be affixed to an handle—There are indeed two grooves, one on each of the flat sides; but it is difficult to imagine in

what manner it might be fastened by these to its staff, sufficiently firm to answer the purposes of a missile weapon. Its composition is partly copper, and partly lead, and it has apparently been cast in a mould. The corners have been broken off by some kind of violence, and many irregular indentations appear on its edge. The annexed plate contains an exact representation of this very ancient implement of war.

The spur (B) is but a child of yesterday compared with its venerable companion. This too was taken up by an husbandman, in the area of Buckland-rings. I am totally at a loss to account for the manner in which it came there—Its age, however, I think cannot exceed three centuries. The spur used by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, was of a much more simple form: it had no rouelle, the neck terminating in a point, and but one strap to affix it to the heel*. Neither did the Normans immediately on their arrival here alter the fashion of this instrument; the *pryk-spur*, so called from its single point, continued in use till the latter end of the thirteenth century, at which period, and not till then the *rouelle* begins to make its ap-

* Grose's Military Antiq. V. I. p. 3.

pearance in ancient delineations*. This fashion being once adopted, in a short time, like all other fashions, was carried to an extreme; and the gallant horseman of the fourteenth century, considered a spur with a rouelle five or six inches in diameter, as a very ornamental part of the equestrian attire†.

Our spur may, probably, be given to the æra when this ridiculous and dangerous custom began to decline. Its appearance indeed indicates, that it has not been hidden many centuries in the earth, as the iron, of which metal it is composed, has not suffered materially by the rust.

Having thus I think clearly ascertained the people to whom the formation of Buckland-rings may be attributed: it becomes necessary to inquire in the next place, for what particular purposes these vast aggestions were raised.

With respect, however, to Roman antiquities in Britain it may be premised, that the writer whose inquiries are directed to investigate the age or designation of their *lesser works*, will find himself surrounded by peculiar diffi-

* Strutt's Horda Angel Cynnan, V. I. p. 48.

† Grose's Mil. Ant. v. 1. p. 103.

culties. When he attempts these disquisitions, he enters a land of darkness, where

“ Nox atrâ circumvolat umbrâ.”

For what hope can he entertain of giving a satisfactory account of an *inferior* encampment, when the *constant* stations of the Romans in Britain are still unsettled; and the respective courses of their *four great roads* hitherto undefined?—It being then impossible to arrive at *proof* in matters of such profound obscurity, he must be content to offer to his reader *conjecture* in its room: which if it be indulged with caution, and supported by any collateral evidence, is assuredly deserving of some attention.

Suetonius tells us, that Vespasian in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, through the interest of Narcissus, was constituted lieutenant of a legion, sent into Gaul, and from thence into Britain. That he fought in this country thirty pitched battles; conquered two powerful nations; captured upwards of twenty towns; and brought the Isle of Wight under the Roman yoke.—That he effected these achievements, partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, a consular lieutenant, and partly under *Claudius* himself.—And, finally, that

that in consequence of these services, he was rewarded with a triumph, and two sacerdotal dignities*.

Other historians of authority also mention the glorious success of this fortunate general in Britain†.

I am inclined then to consider Buckland-rings as a work of Vespasian's, formed for the purpose of protecting such Roman ships as might have attended him in this expedition. The state of the river at present, cannot be any argument against this hypothesis. That its waters sixteen hundred years ago, were neither so shallow, nor so limited as they are now, may reasonably be supposed, since there

* Sueton. in Vit. Vesp. " Claudio principe, Narcissi gratiâ legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est, inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque 20 oppida, et insulam Vectam Britanniae proximam, in deditionem redegit; partim Auli Plautii consularis legati, partim Claudii ipsius ductu. Quare Triumphalia ornamenta, et in spatio brevi duplex sacerdotium accepit. P. 305. edit. Janson, Amsterdam.

† Dion. Cass. Hist. lib. 65. Tacitus also, speaks of Vespasian's success when in Britain. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis Legionibus, auxiliisque, et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturae fortunae, domitae gentes, capti Reges, et monstratus fati Vespasianus. Vit. Agric. c. 13. et Hist. l. 3. c. 34.

are those alive at this day, who have heard their ancestors declare, that a century back, the channel was sufficiently deep, to admit loaded vessels, of eighty or ninety tons burthen, some hundred yards higher up the river, than the situation of Buckland-camp. Besides, the inquisitive eye may still discern, in a morass which runs in a right angle from the western side of the river nearly to the foot of our entrenchment, the traces of a cut or dock, evidently connected with the work; which though in the lapse of ages, it has been entirely choaked up, and converted into a swamp, yet probably was sufficiently deep in Vespasian's time, to receive the largest of the Roman galleys.

At the distance of two miles from the camp I have thus largely described, are several *tumuli* or barrows scattered over the heath, called Sway Common.

It may be amusing to spend a few minutes in contemplating these repositories of the departed warriors and in offering some observations on this very ancient mode of interment.

That there is a principle in the mind of man, which occasions him to look forward,
with

with some degree of anxiety, to the disposition of his body after the vital spark has forsaken it; and which excites a secret wish, that his memory may not be altogether blotted out, nor himself consigned to eternal oblivion when he has ceased to exist*, is obvious, from the practice which has prevailed in all ages, and almost all countries, of depositing the remains of the departed, in some spot where they might be secure from disturbance or violation, and marking the place of interment with some token, as a memorial of the deceased:

For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing, anxious being e'er resigned;
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
Nor cast one longing, ling'ring look behind?

Various modes of sepulture, have for these purposes been adopted; but the most ancient and universal, is the burrow† or tumulus.

In

* This natural desire, is thus expressed by an expiring Scandinavian chief. "Place me," says Calmar mortally wounded, "at the side of a *stone of remembrance*, that future times may hear my fame, and the mother of Calmar, rejoice over the stone of my renown."—"Fall I may, but raise my tomb, Crimora! Grey stones, a mound of earth, shall send my name to other times." Ossian.

† We call these artificial mounds of earth *barrows*, but very improperly, their right appellation is *burrows*. Barrow signifies a place

In the holy Bible indeed, the first and most remote account which occurs of an interment, is that respecting *Sarah*, where her body is said to have been deposited in the cave of *Machpelah*, which Abraham had purchased for that purpose*. But I should think this was rather a refinement upon, or alteration of a more ancient custom, than the original one; since the tumulus was certainly the method most obvious to savage simplicity: to guard at the same time the remains of the departed from pollution, and to hand down his memory to posterity, by a visible object, secure both from it's form and materials, from early decay, or the injuries of casualty†.

a place of defence—*burrow* comes from *byrig*, to hide or bury. Borlase Antiq. p. 211. note (d). The remains of our mother tongue, the Saxon, are best preserved, among the lower country people; who are out of the way of adopting those innumerable exotic words, and new-fangled modes of speech, with which our language is daily adulterated.—Among this description of people, *tumuli*, are still denominated *burrows*.

* Gen. c. xxvi.

† To confirm the truth of this observation let it be noted, that the inhabitants of Botany Bay, who seem to be but little removed from the primæval state of man, generally practise interment under tumuli. See Capt. Tench's Narrative, p. 89. 90.

The

The *Greeks* from the earliest times, deposited the bodies of their deceased under tumuli; as Homer and other ancient authors give us to understand†. This custom continued among them for ages; but the place of interment gradually increased in size, splendor, and costliness, till at length the thoughtless profusion of Alexander the Great, expended on the tumulus of his favourite Hephæstion, the incredible sum of twelve thousand talents*.

The *Assyrians* a people of very remote antiquity used this mode of sepulture; and *Ninus* the founder of their empire, was buried by his wife *Semiramis* under an huge mound of earth†.

The *Persians*, according to Hyde, had a similar custom§.—The *Lydians* also buried under *tumuli*; and Herodotus gives the following curious account of the formation of the mound, under which were placed the remains of *Allyattes*, king of that country.

† Iliad. 7. 336—14. 119—23. 247. et aliis locis. Pausanias in Phocicis, c. 5. p. 808.

* Tumulumque ei 12 millium talentorum fecit, eumque post mortem coli ut deum jussit. Justin lib. 12. c. 12. ad finem.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 1.

§ Hyde Vet. Pers. c. 34. p. 410.

“ There,”

“ There,” (in Lydia) says the historian,
 “ is the sepulchre of Alyattes, the father of
 “ Cræsus; the *base* of which is formed of
 “ large stones; the upper part is a mound of
 “ earth. It is said, that merchants, labour-
 “ ers, and courtezans*, constructed this tu-
 “ mulus; and by what remains of the work
 “ to our times, it appears that the *girls* com-
 “ pleated the larger part of it.—The circum-
 “ ference of this sepulchre is three thousand
 “ eight hundred feet; and its breadth one
 “ thousand three hundred feet†.”

The pyramids themselves, those mighty
 memorials of human superstition, seem to be
 nothing more than an improvement upon the
 earthen tumulus, originally in use amongst the
 Egyptians‡.

* *Αγοραίοι άνθρωποι ή οι χειρωνακτες και αι ενεργαζομεναι παιδισκαι.*
 L'Archer understands these words, in the sense I have given
 them above.

† Vide Herodotus Clif. c. 93. The same historian, Lib. IV.
 c. 71. tells us the *Scythians* buried their great men, in a similar
 way. His assertion is confirmed, by those vast tumuli, to be
 met with, at this day, in the deserts of Siberia, and Tartary;
 apparently of great antiquity. Bell's travels. See also Archæolog.
 V. II. p. 222. et 262; where are accounts of barrows two
 hundred feet high, and three thousand in circumference.

‡ Savary's letters on Egypt. Salmon's survey of Rom. Ant.
 in Brit. p. 37.

That the early Romans buried their dead in the same manner, we learn from Virgil*. The practice continued with them for centuries†; but gradually declined, as christianity spread itself through the empire, and swept away the follies of paganism‡.

The Guacas of the Peruvians, were nothing more than *tumuli*, or mounds of earth, with which they covered the bodies of the deceased§: and late discoveries evince, that the same custom is practised by the simple and unlettered inhabitants of the South-sea islands||.

The northern nations, to whom we owe our origin, always deposited their dead under barrows.

The numerous Celtic, or Druidical ones, scattered over every part of the kingdom and the British isles, convince us that the Gauls

* Æneid II. v. 207. See also Servius in Æn. II. on this passage;

———fuit ingens monte sub alto

Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere Bustum.

† Germanicus buried the bodies of Varus's soldiers under *tumuli*. Tacit. Annal. Lib. I. See also Pliny, l. VII. c. 54.

‡ Macrobi Saturnal. l. VII. c. 7. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac.

§ Robertson's hist. America, v. III. p. 222.

|| Cook's Voyages, v. I.

and ancient Britons had this custom*. Tacitus says of the Germans; “There is no ambition of superb burials among them: care only is taken to reduce the bodies of illustrious warriors to ashes, with particular woods—as for the sepulchre, it is formed of *turf*†”—and the *Scandic* tribes used a similar mode of interment, universally‡.

“If I must fall in the field,” says a northern chieftain, “raise high my grave *Vinvela*. Grey stones and heaped up earth, shall mark me to future times.” When the hunter shall sit by the mound, and produce his food at noon; some warrior rests here, he will say, and my fame shall live in his praise§.

General

* Cambden, Borlase, Stukeley, &c.

† Funerum nulla ambitio; id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur.—Sepulchrum cespes Erigit. Tac. Mor. Germ. c. 27.

‡ Keyser's Antiq. select. Septen. p. 114. et infra. Bartholin. de Cauf. Contem. Dan. Mort. l. I. c. 8.

§ Ossian. The Danes continued the practice beyond the tenth century. “Egillus ad arenam reversus, fratrem ibi Thorolfum exanimem reperit; corpus susceptum lavit; et ex temporum more, concinnavit, ad sepulturam. Facto sepulchro (magnum condiderunt tumulum) Thorolfum cum armis omnibus, vestibusque suis

General then, as this custom was among the ancients, of burying under *tumuli*, it will be esteemed rather a difficult matter at the present day, to determine what particular people were the authors of the different barrows that meet the eye, in almost every part of Britain. But perhaps, there are a few general, and simple rules, which may enable us to discriminate between the Druidical, Roman, Saxon, and Danish barrows.

The particular appearances on which these rules are founded, must be sought for not only by examining the exterior form of the mound, but also by laying it open, remarking its interior construction, and exploring its contents.

fuis ibi composuerunt. Deinde Egillus, antequam discederet, in utrumque ei brachium singulares armillas aureas induxit. Postea faxis obstructum sepulchrum, humusque super injecta est. Tunc Egillus carmen cecinit, &c. Vide Antiquitat. Celto. Scandicæ. Copenhagen 1786, 4to. p. 51." Above we have the ceremonies of a *Danish funeral*. The body is first washed; then neatly arrayed; a bracelet placed on each arm; and deposited, together with the arms, and attire of the deceased, on the ground. Heaps of stones are cast over it; and a mound of earth upon the stones. The forms conclude, with the recitation of a few extempore verses, by the nearest of kin present, in praise of the deceased.

Thus, for instance, the ancient British, or Druidical barrows, which cover the remains of noble personages, will be found in general, either to be surrounded with a circle of stones, placed in an erect position, or crowned with a broad, flat, single stone, laid on their tops*: whilst those of less consequence, contain together with the ashes of the dead, such bits of arms, articles of attire, or ornamental baubles, as antiquarians refer to the times of *Druidism*†.

The elegant form, workmanship, and decorations of the urn; the coins‡, personal ornaments, and various implements of domestic life found in many others, ascertain them to be of *Roman* origin.

Such as contain ashes alone without urns or coins, may be given to the *Saxons*; whilst

* Borlase Antiq. Corn. p. 222.

† The Druids unquestionably burnt their dead. Romans, Saxons, and Danes did the same. *Cremation* however ceased among the English, on the general conversion of the nation to Christianity; though we still retain a trace of this very ancient custom, in our *burial service*, in the words *ashes to ashes*.

‡ Coins. For it was customary with the Romans, when at their ordinary funeral obsequies, after the corpse was reduced to ashes, to place them in an urn, and put therein a coin of the Emperor, under whose reign the person so buried, had lived. Hearne's Pref. to curious Discourses, p. 24.

the *Dane* lays claim to those mixed aggestions of stones, and earth, within which are often discovered the human skeleton, and the massive fragments of *Danish armour**.

By applying these rules then to the barrows on Sway-Common, we find they were formed by two different people; most probably the Britons and the Saxons.

Those which lie due west of the New Inn, on the Lyndhurst road, I esteem to be British; while the more formal ones, which have each a fosse and circumvallation, and are situated about half a mile to the northward of the others, I call Saxon.

* Before the arrival of *Odin*, the great northern legislator, in Scandinavia, the Danes, at their funerals, did nothing more, than lay the body of the deceased together with his armour, on the ground, and cover them with an heap of earth, and stones. *Odin* however introduced cremation, and the use of urns. Mallet's North. Antiq. v. I. p. 341. From this period, burials, among the Danes, became more pompous, and expensive; and were not unfrequently, attended with the sacrifice of the wife, friends, and domestics of the deceased, who were consumed on the same pile with the warrior's body. Keyser's Antiq. Sept. Select. p. 147, 148. Hanover 1720. It is certain however, that the Danes used their most simple and ancient mode of sepulture, in their occasional predatory visits to this country; since they seldom remained on the field of battle, sufficiently long, to go through the cremation, &c. See also Salmon's Survey of Rom. Ant. p. 39.

My opinion is founded on the observations which occurred to me on opening both.

About fifteen months since, I had the curiosity to dig into two of the former barrows, each of which might be about fifteen feet in diameter, and four feet high. The mound of the first was, I observed, entirely composed of the surface of the neighbouring land; a white gravel mixed with loose sand. Through this artificial heap we pierced to the depth of about four feet; when we arrived at a quantity of black earth, which had evidently suffered the action of fire; and amongst it were large parcels of wood ashes. On removing this and digging below the surface of the natural land, we perceived that a cell, or excavation, of two feet in depth, and as many in length and breadth, had been formed in the bed of gravel which lies immediately under the surface, for the reception of the urn. To this at length we came, but the carelessness of the workmen prevented my taking it out in it's perfect state: the spade of one of them unfortunately came in contact with it; and before I could interfere, had divided it into two parts. From the fragments of it however, I could judge of it's construction. The inelegancy of the work-

manship,

manship, and clumsiness of its form, (not unlike a small punch-bowl, with an inverted brim) convinced me immediately it could not be *Roman pottery*; and the conviction was strengthened, on remarking afterwards that it had never been either baked or glazed. It contained ashes, and small human bones in a state of calcination, mixed with an earth of the texture and consistence of peat.

The second barrow afforded the same appearances; except that being situated in a moister spot than the other, the urn contained in it, which had never been hardened by fire, was resolved into its original clay.

These barrows I conceive, were formed by the Britons dwelling hereabouts, at the period when they were defending their liberties and lives, against the invading Saxons; when the arts which the Romans had taught them were not entirely forgotten, but had dwindled into a state of miserable degeneracy.

The other barrows which, as I before observed, have more marks of care and attention about them than those just described, are situated on the brow of a hill, a few hundred yards to the south-east of a wood, called Setley-wood. They are included within an

entrenchment which comes from the east, runs a considerable way in an informal line to the west, makes an obtuse angle, just within which the two principal barrows lie; then pushing on in a northern direction, disappears in a cultivated field, about a quarter of a mile from the point, where it makes the above-mentioned diverticle.

Towards the angle of this enclosed area, are placed several barrows, two of which probably cover the remains of chieftains, or people of consequence; since considerable labour and care have evidently been exerted in their formation. They have each a regular fosse, and vallum. The mound or tumulus, is composed of part of the earth taken from the fosse; another proportion of it forms the surrounding vallum. It is evident these barrows were raised at the same time, since they are connected together; and have only a single vallum at the point of their junction. I paced the fosse of each, and found the larger to measure one hundred and ten yards, the smaller ninety-five yards.

A short distance to the south of these, is another barrow of a similar construction, and standing entirely alone.

This,

This, and one of the two connected with each other, I opened last summer, in company with the Rev. William Jackson, Vicar of Christ-church. The appearances were nearly the same with the British barrows above described; except, that there was not the least vestige of an urn ever having been deposited in either of them. *Cremation* had, obviously been practised; since large quantities of burnt earth, and parcels of wood, reduced by fire to charcoal, were found in each: but after searching with great attention, removing all the factitious earth, and digging to a considerable depth below the surface of the natural land, we were convinced that simply burning the body, and covering its ashes with mould, had been the mode observed in these instances of inhumation.

These tumuli, then, I refer to the Saxons: and I think it will be allowed I have authority for so doing, when it is considered, that the German tribes, seldom, if ever, used *urn-burial**.

The custom of *burning* the body, was common to all the northern nations: but that of

* Tacitus de Mor. Germ. Lelandi Assertio Arturii, p. 44.

collecting the bones and ashes, after cremation, and depositing them in urns, seems to have never generally prevailed among the Saxons. Besides, the appellation of the tract, on which these barrows are scattered, adds great weight to the opinion I have ventured to offer. It is a compound of two genuine Saxon words: and not only points out the people who occupied the spot, but at the same time marks it as the scene, of a furious and bloody contest*. I would further insinuate, that the imposition of a *Saxon* name on the place of action, clearly ascertains which of the contending parties remained master of the field: since it has ever been a custom with conquerors, to commemorate the scene of victory and glory, by trophies erected on the spot, or by appellations allusive to the circumstances of their success. Perhaps too, the idea of our Saxon ancestors, having been trium-

* The name of the spot is Lich-more or Lich-mere; literally the *marsh* of *carcasses*. See *Nominum Loc. Explicatio in Voc. Lichfield ad calc. Sax. Chron.* The name of Lichfield has a similar derivation: and the etymology is strengthened, by the arms of that see, which are a plain, or field, covered with human bones and carcasses.

phant,

phant, in the battle fought on or near this place, may be strengthened, by considering the barrows above described. The former are simple aggestions of earth, without fosse or circumvallation; such as a routed party obliged to retreat, but unwilling to omit paying the last offices to the deceased, might be supposed, in an hurry, to have formed: while on the others are displayed all those marks of nice attention, which are only to be effected, in the season of uninterrupted leisure.

It is not easy to elicit truth out of fable; or to collect, from the romantic and confused events of British story, a regular, connected, or even credible detail. It may however be worth while, just to look into the æra of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain; and see if there be any authenticated fact, which may lead us to the knowledge of the period when, and the occasion on which, the barrows we have above described, were formed.

The Saxon chronicler tells us, that in the year 495, two Saxon leaders, *Cerdic* and his son *Kenric*, attended by five ships, landed in Britain, at the place which is called *Cerdices-ora* (*Cerdic-shore*), and on the same day fought a battle with the natives: and that in the
course

course of six years, they conquered all that part of England, which afterwards formed the kingdom of the West-Saxons*.

Notwithstanding that the situation of Cerdic-shore has been much disputed among antiquarians, and the learned Cambden seems inclined to place it at Yarmouth in Norfolk†; yet there are reasons for fixing it on the south-western coast of the kingdom. Matthew of Westminster is express in this respect; and the learned editor of the Saxon chronicle holds the same opinion‡. Besides, the progress of

* An. 495. Hoc Anno appulerunt duo præfecti in Britanniam, Cerdicus et Cynricus ejus filius, cum quinque navibus, eo in loco qui appellatur Cerdices-ora, atque eo ipso die cum Britannis acie dimicabant. Annis circiter sex quibus adveniant, expugnabant occidentalium Saxonum terram, et primi reges extiterunt quos occidentalium Saxonum terra experegrinis habebat. Sax. Chron. apud Gibson, p. 15. l. VII.

† Cambden Brit. apud Gibson, p. 387.

‡ Non defunt viri graves, qui opinantur Cerdicum naves suas appulisse in Portum Hamtunensem (hodie Southampton) et Calshot in ipsa fluminis ora (quod existimat Camden corruptum esse pro Caldshore) esse Saxonum Cerdices-ora. Hanc certe sententiam confirmat Matt. Westnasteriensis collatus cum nostris Annalibus. Hoc Ann. 514 referunt *Stufum* et *Withgarum* naves appulisse ad Cerdices-ora; eosdem “*in occidentali parte Britanniae applicuisse,*” dicit Matt. West. Vide Nom. Loc. Explicatio, ad Calc. Sax. Chron. apud Gibson in voc. Cerdices-ora.

Cerdic's

Cerdic's conquests, seems to indicate that his debarkation was in this part of Britain. In Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, his prowess was chiefly displayed; and one of the most bloody battles fought between him and the Britons, was decided in his favor at a place called Charford, a few miles from the town of Christchurch*.

The most gallant antagonist of Cerdic, who for a time, checked his victories, and kept alive the desponding spirits of the western Britons, was Ambrosius, or Natanleod†; of whom little more can be gathered from the meagre, and obscure annals of this period, than that he was equally brave and unfortunate. It is this chief, who, I am willing to believe, headed the natives of the country, in attempting to repel the invasion of the

* Anno 519. Hoc Anno, Cerdicus et Cynricus occidentalium Saxonum Regnum susceperunt; et eo ipso anno, depugnabant contra Britannos in loco qui hodie vulgo dicitur Cerdicesford; a quo usque die regna vit occidentalium Saxonum proles. Regia. Sax. Chron. p. 13. l. XV.

† Camden, and Archbishop Usher, suppose Ambrosius and Natanleod to be the same person, the former his *Roman*, the latter his *British* name. See also Milton's *Hist. England to the Norman conquest*, p. 33. 1st Coll. ad Calc.

Saxons*. The several barrows near Dibden, Fawley, and on Beaulieu-heath, may possibly be memorials of the ill success which attended his endeavours to save his sinking country. Unable to support the furious attacks of the invaders, he was probably driven, by little and little, to the westward, till he reached the neighbourhood of Lymington. Here he made a stand, and entrenched himself on the banks of the river, at a spot, which even now retains the name of *Ambrose-hole*; an obvious contraction of Ambrosius. An earth-work, a rude sample of British castrametation, may still be discerned at the place; and the farm, on part of which it stands, bears testimony to the presence of the hero in this part of the country, by being called at present, *Ambrose-farm*.

The battle which decided the fate of Lymington and its neighbourhood, was, in all probability, fought on Sway-Common. Routed in this rencounter, the unfortunate Briton retired with his forces, to the skirts of Dor-

* Ambrosius, without any question, fought several battles with the Saxons, in this part of the kingdom, in the beginning of the sixth century. See Gough's Edit. of Camden, v. I. p. 115.

setshire ; where, being pursued by Cerdic and his son, he sealed his services with his blood, at Charford, in the year 508*.

Thus, I think we may without departing from reason, or probability, attribute the barrows described above, partly to the Saxon followers of the victorious Cerdic, and partly to the Britons, under the ill fated, but patriotic Ambrosius.

From a great number of *Dorsa*, or banks, traces of which are discerned on the Common I have been speaking of, it may be conjectured, that the contending parties remained some time entrenched on this spot, before they came to a decisive engagement : these, however, run in such various, capricious, and unintelligible directions ; sometimes intersecting each other, at right angles ; at others, creeping on in parallel lines ; and now, diverging towards opposite points, that it is impossible, even to guess at the particular designation of any of them.

The district we have been hitherto engaged in, and all the adjacent country, was, at the

* Anno 508. Hoc anno, Cerdicus et Cynricus interfecerunt quendam Britannum Regem, cui fuit nomen *Natanleod*, et quinque millia virorum cum eo ; a quo tempore regis, nuncupata est Natan-leag usque ad Cerdicesford. Sax. Chron. 17. l. XXX.

time of the Domesday survey, included in the extensive hundred of *Bovre*, or *Boldre*. This division stretched to the *west*, as far as Hinton, in the neighbourhood of Christ-church; to the *east*, as far as Baddesley; took in Lindhurst to the *north*; and was bounded by the sea, to the *south**. It embraced within its limits, besides the places already mentioned, Fritham; Offamsley; Walhampton; Lymington; Ashley; Baishley; Fernehill; Boldreford, and Boldre. At present there is no such hundred; other divisions having been adopted, which have blended it with Christ-church hundred†.

Bovreford, the present village of Boldre, so called from its situation on the river, had been in Edward the Confessor's time, a manor of some consideration its annual worth being then estimated at ten pounds. But lying within the line, which William the conqueror had drawn, to mark the limits of his New-forest,

* See my "Hampshire extracted from Dom. Book."

† *Bovre* the name given to this hundred in Dom. Book, was, probably, an alteration of its original one, *Boldre*. The substitution of the letter V, for harsher consonants, being a common practice of Norman scribes, who took the minutes of the survey.

its value at the time of the survey had dwindled to nothing; and only two acres of its land were saved from afforestation, and granted by the King to Hugo de St. Quinton*.

Although Boldre church did not exist when Domesday-book was compiled, it must have been erected, at no great distance from that period: since it is mentioned in certain charters, as old as Henry the first's time†. During the early part of this reign, the church of Boldre had been granted as a prebend, to the monastery of Christ-church; so that it must have been built in the beginning of the twelfth century. The rudeness, indeed, of the structure, suits well with the inelegancy of that age; when the massive clumsiness of Saxon architecture, had not yet given way to the more beautiful proportions of the Gothic style. It is an irregular pile, probably built at different periods. The western end seems to claim the highest antiquity. The northern member was added about the reign of King

* The minute in Dom. Book is as follows. *Wislac* holds one hide of the King in Bovreford. It is now in the forest; except two acres of meadow, which are held by Hugo de St. Quinton. It was worth ten pounds. Dom. Book, p. 271.

† Appendix, N^o. 2, 18, 19, et infra.

John. This I conclude, both from the stile of the building, and the armorial cognizances of painted glafs, which were intended as decorations to its eastern window; and most likely placed there, when this part of the edifice was compleated. These representations consist of the arms of *Lewis*, the Dauphin of France*, who had been invited into England, and crowned king, during the distractions of John's reign; of William de Vernun, at that time lord of the Isle of Wight; and other barons who favored the cause of Lewis.

This William de Vernun, was grandson of Richard de Redvers the elder; and inherited all the vast estates of that affluent baron, of which Boldre made a part†. He had his surname, from the place of his birth; a small town in Normandy, on the banks of the Seine, and in the diocese of Evreux. Fired with indignation at the tyrannic deportment

* It is observable in this coat of arms, that the fleurs de lis are scattered entirely over the field, a mark of its antiquity; for so, I am informed, in early times, the arms of France were blazoned. The other undefaced arms are as follows—1. or, three chevronels, gules—2. checky azure and or, a bend gules.

† See the pedigree of the de Redvers family, in the appendix to Worsley's Hist. Isle of Wight.

of John, who had extorted from him an enormous fine, on reinstating him in his castle of Plympton, and other honors; he joined the standard of the rebellious barons, and was one of the instruments in introducing the Dauphin into Britain. It seems likely, by his connecting the arms of France with his own, in the church window of Boldre, that he attached himself to the interests of Lewis with great warmth. Fortunately, he did not live to see the frustration of his hopes, in the disgrace of the Dauphin, but died in the first year of Henry the third; whilst Lewis, after encountering various disasters, and acceding to the terms of an inglorious treaty, left the kingdom in so silent and abject a manner, that history is unable to acquaint us with the place of his embarkation; though tradition insinuates it was at Leap, a few miles to the eastward of Lymington.

If the window above spoken of, be allowed to be as old as the reign of King John, it perhaps, exhibits as antique a specimen of English painted glass, as any in the kingdom; since *Aubrey* on the authority of *Sir William Dugdale*, asserts, that the *first* painted glass

manufactured in England, was done in the beginning of the thirteenth century*.

Boldre church is most beautifully seated on an eminence, and commands a variety of pleasing views.—Its solitary situation and distance from any village or town, might excite our wonder, did we not advert to the state of the kingdom at the period of its erection; when population being at a low ebb, one place of worship was sufficient for a very large extent of ground; and that the church might be equidistant from every part of the district, and equally easy of access to all the parishioners, the most central situation was chosen to place it in, without regard to the particular convenience of any village, or hamlet. Besides, as is observed by a respectable and elegant writer, “all the churches of the forest are loftily seated. For when the whole country was covered with woods, and before roads were cut through them; it was necessary to place the church in a lofty situation, that the inhabitants might the more easily find their way to it†.” The distress of being bewil-

* MS. survey of Wiltshire, v. II. p. 85.

† Gilpin's Forest Scenery, v. II. p. 129.

dered in the mazes of a wood, was not indeed the only danger the parishioner had to encounter, in his attendance on divine service, when the church was situated in a forest. Bogs, and inundations in the winter, thieves and outlaws in the summer, frequently prevented, or surprised him in his pious expedition*.

Boldre church continued to be a prebend to Christ-church, till the dissolution. The priory appointed a vicar, who received the small tithes of the district for his labors; while the greater ones were carried into the barns of the convent. At the period of the dissolution, an assential, or acknowledgment of its subordination to the monastery, was paid by its vicar, of three shillings and eight pence annually†.

At

* In Rymer's *Fœdera*, is a bull from Pope Alexander the 4th, directed to the Bishop of Salisbury; stating that John Despencer, Lord of the manor of Swalefield, had requested permission, by petition, to erect and endow a chapel in his said manor, and to appoint a chaplain to officiate in the same; his said manor lying in a forest, at some distance from the mother church; through which forest it was dangerous for himself, and his family to go, as many *thieves* lurked in the same, and inundations in winter rendered the journey thither unsafe. Tom. I. p. 610. This was in Henry the third's time—1256.

† As appears by the "Computus Monasterii nuper de Christ-church Twyneham;" a copy of which is in the possession of

At this æra Nicholas Bernerde was the incumbent; who occurs among the incumbents of chantries, to whom pensions were paid in 1553, and appears to have received one of £3. 12s. 6d*.

The following is a regular list of the Vicars of Boldre, from the year 1535, extracted from the registers of that church; the most ancient of which has minutes of the performance of offices in 1596, the 38th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

“ Mem. from an extract of some records,
 “ in the first fruit's office, it appears, that in
 “ the 26th year of Henry VIII. 1535, the
 “ Vicar's name was,

William Braftbridge.

Nicholas Bernerde.

—— Jackson.

—— Whittington - 1596.

William Jones - - 1621.

Thomas Joyce - - 1663, August.

Charles Jones - - 1687, March.

Bernard Brougham - 1693, June.

George Rose, Esq; of Cuffnells, near Lyndhurst, to whom I am indebted for a sight of it.

* Brown Willis's Hist. Mit. Abbies, v. II. p. 209.

John

John Harrifon - - 1703, December.
 John Howell - - 1707, June.
 Thomas Jenner* - 1724, June.
 John Howell again.
 Charles Hackman.
 William Hawkins, - 1751, July.
 William Gilpin, the }
 present incumbent } 1778.

Boldre church-yard exhibits various specimens of those "uncouth rhymes," which have been long appropriated to the rustic tombstone. In these examples of parochial poetry, sense and grammar are frequently so unnaturally perverted; that one can scarcely forbear thinking the deviations from them are designed. It is pity indeed that these senseless jumbles, which only serve to excite improper ridicule, were not altogether disused; and either apposite texts of scripture, or such simple and instructive lines as the following, adopted in their room.

* In 1711 Mr. Thomas Jenner was curate of Lymington, as appears by a memorandum in the register of that church; in 1724 he obtained the living of Boldre. In 1749 he was president of Magdalen College Oxford, and Margaret professor of the said university.

On a neat head-stone are these words.

“ Here lieth
“ The body of
“ Giles Clarke :
“ who passed
“ Quietly, inoffensively, and piously,
“ Through the space
“ Of 80 years,
“ From his cradle, to his grave,
“ which received him
“ On the 3d May 1783.
“ That his good example
“ Might not be forgotten,
“ A friend to his memory,
“ Placed this
“ Upon his tomb.”

On another stone is the following inscription ;

“ Here
“ Rests from his labour
“ William Baker ;
“ Whose Industry, and Frugality,
“ Whose Honesty, and Piety,
“ Were long an example
“ To this parish.
“ He was born in 1710 ;
“ and
“ Died in 1791.”

The

The exemplary incumbent of Boldre will, I trust, pardon me for thus pointing out one mode, among numberless others, which he has taken to convey moral and religious instruction to his parishioners, and impress beneficial and important truths upon their minds.

The extensive vicarage of Boldre includes Brockenhurst within its limits.

The name of this village is compounded of two Saxon words, allusive to the circumstances of its situation*. It is extremely ancient, occurring in Domesday-book; where it is mentioned, as having a *church* standing on the manor†.

This edifice remains to the present day; and needs not the evidence of the Domesday survey to attest its antiquity, having every

* *Broc*, Taxus, a yew-tree. Junius in Verb. et Hyppert, Sylva, *faltus*, a wood, or grove. Gloss. Sax. Chron. in Verb.

† “ The same Aluric holds one hide in Brocestre (*Brocken-*
 “ *hurst*;) which was held in parcenary, by his father and his
 “ uncle; and was then assessed at one hide. It is now assessed
 “ at half a hide. Here is one plough land; one plough is
 “ employed on the demesne, and six borders and four slaves
 “ employ two ploughs and an half. Here is a church, and
 “ woods, which furnish twenty hogs. It was worth, in the
 “ time of Edward the Confessor forty shillings. It was after-
 “ wards worth four pounds. Hamp. Dom. book, p. 279.

characteristic

characteristic mark of Saxon conformation. It stands on an artificial mound of earth, four or five feet in height, and fifty or sixty yards in diameter : raised probably, for the purpose of rendering the church built upon it, more conspicuous to the adjacent country ; a necessary precaution in this instance, as its name implies that Brockenhurst in ancient times was deeply embosomed amid surrounding woods.

The construction of the building, I say, speaks it to be Saxon*. The descent into the church at the south side and west end, by several steps ; the turn of the arch over the southern door-way ; and the zig-zag moulding or ornament creeping round the top of it ; are all peculiarities of Saxon architecture. I am not clear indeed, but what some addition has been made to the original building at the

* When I speak thus decidedly respecting the architecture of Brockenhurst church, and pronounce it to be *Saxon* ; I would be understood to allude to the *later* times of the Anglo-Saxon period in this country : since it is certain that in the *earlier* ages, the edifices intended for the purposes of public worship were but miserable buildings, for the most part formed of wood. What is usually denominated the *Saxon stile*, was most probably borrowed from the Normans about the close of the ninth century, and continued in use here till the thirteenth. See more on this subject *infra*.

eastern

eastern end; the window of that extremity appearing to me to be later than the eleventh century. I do not however speak decisively as to this point; though the conjecture is favored, by adverting to that custom which the old English have always observed, of making their alterations in the Saxon churches, whenever they have been necessary, at the eastern end*.

The situation of the *baptisterium* or font, was anciently, as well as at present, near the *western* door, the chief entrance into the church†. The font of Brockenhurst church is thus situated. It is a very antique piece of workmanship, as appears from its construction; the rude mouldings, on the faces of its four sides; and the excavation for immersion, which is upwards of two feet in diameter, and near a foot in depth. The reason which induced our ancestors to form their baptisteries with such capacious receptacles was, that the custom of *total immersion* prevailed very much

* Ducarol's Ang. Norm. Antiq. p. 101.

† The font was anciently situated in the *church-porch*; because baptism being the sacrament of initiation into the church, it was deemed proper, that the person to be baptized, should go through the ceremony, previous to his entrance into the house of God.

amongst them. As this practice however, must have been attended with almost certain death to infants of a weakly habit, provision was made in the ecclesiastical constitutions, permitting *simple aspersio* to be used in its room, in very particular cases. But when the child was healthy, and strong enough to bear the shock of immersion, the ceremony of baptism was performed in the following manner. Being brought to the font, attended by the sponsors, the infant was delivered to the minister, who plunged it over head and ears in the holy water, pronouncing these words, " Iche christine the, in the name of the fadere, " and of the sonne, and of the Holy Ghaft. " Amen." The ceremony was concluded by his anointing the child with holy oil*. The obvious inconvenience of this practice, occasioned it to be dropped in course of time†: and

* Constitutions Johan. Peckham. apud Lyndewoode: Provencial. P. 244.

† This custom must have been particularly pernicious in the Saxon æra; as the parents of all infants, were under an obligation to have them christened, well, or ill, before the month was expired, under very severe penalties. According to the following law of *King Ina*. Infans infra 30 dies postquam in lucem prodierit

and the safer mode of sprinkling the face with water was adopted. Indeed the effects of total immersion were not only frequently fatal, but sometimes rather ridiculous: the shock and fright operating on the frame of the poor infant in a manner extremely unpleasant to the bystander. An accident of this nature is said to have happened to King Etheldred at his baptism, in the year 967; to the great discomposure of Archbishop Dunstan the officiating minister, who exclaimed with some warmth and a kind of prophetic spirit, “ By God, and
 “ his mother, this boy will turn out but a
 “ miserable fellow.*”

The

prodierit baptizator. Id si non fiat, ter denis solidis culpa penfator. Sin prius vitam cum morte commutarit quàm sacro tinguatur baptismate, rebus suis omnibus mulctator. Leges Inæ Reg. apud Lambarde's Archaionom. P. 1.

* Sacra statim natus Etheldredus violavit, Nam baptizatus, *baptisterium maculavit*. W. Wycester. Metra de Reg. Ang. apud Lib. Nig. Scac. p. 530, Edit. Hearne 1728. The exclamation of Dunstan on the occasion was. “ Per deum et matrem ejus, *ignavus homo erit.*” Holl. Chron. 1. 165. Col. 1. 20. For this anecdote I am obliged to Mr. Warton's Specimen Hist. Oxfordshire, p. 5. note (g). Among the Cottonian MSS. is a very curious one, containing the history of the life of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, in a series of excellent delineations; the second of which represents his baptism, by
 which

The font in Brockenhurst church is lined with lead, and has in the middle of its bottom, a small perforation through which the holy water was drained off, after having served the purposes of baptism. It is astonishing how scrupulously exact our ancestors were in this respect. Lest any portion of the consecrated element should be applied to prophane uses, it was carefully secured by a lock, and key, from the pollution of the laity* ; and when, after having been used a certain number of times, it was changed for purer water, the peg which confined it within the basin was drawn out, and a secret passage carried through the body of the font, into a reservoir formed

which the practice of total immersion appears then to have been in use. The MS. was written and illuminated by John Rouse or Rosse, the Antiquary of Warwick who died in 1491, which brings the custom down to the close of the fifteenth century. Bib. Cott. MS. Julius. E. 4.

* The following is a constitution of Archbishop Edmund (published about 1236) for the purposes of preserving the holy water, oil, &c. from prophanation. “ Fontes baptismales sub
“ fera clausi teneantur propter Sortilegia; Chrisma similiter, et
“ oleum sacrum sub clavi custodiantur. Si verò is ad quem
“ spectat custodia, incautè ea reliquerit, tribus mensibus ab
“ officio suspendatur. Et si per ejus incuriam aliquod nefarium
“ contigerit, graviori subjaceat ultioni.” Apud Provinciali Lynd-
wood. P. 247. Lib. III. Tit. 25.

under

under ground, and carefully concealed from human ken*..

The church-yard exhibits two examples of enormous vegetation. A large oak, apparently coeval with the mound on which it grows, measuring five and twenty feet in girth; and a straight, majestic yew tree.—On the latter, the axe has committed sad depredation; despoiling it of five or six huge branches, a circumstance that doubtless has taken greatly from its ancient dignity. Still however it is a noble tree, measuring in girth fifteen feet and in height upwards of sixty. I should think it might lay claim to an antiquity, nearly equal to its venerable neighbour†.

The

* The superstitious Roman Catholics of the present day, are equally particular in this point. It is not wonderful indeed they pay such pious attention to their holy water, since they ascribe to it powers altogether supernatural, and consider it as a defence against every evil. The same efficacy was attributed to it formerly. A basin full of this miraculous liquid, warded off all the arts and attacks of the devil. It was necessary first however to exorcize it. “*Oratio aquæ exorcizatæ in domo. Exorcizo te creatura aquæ in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, et in nomine Jesu Christi, filii ejus, domini nostri, ut fias aqua exorcizata, ad effugandam omnem Potestatem Inimici.*” Du Fresne’s Gloss. I. v. p. 274.

† The New-forest, and Brockenhurst in particular, (as we learn from its name) being formerly so famous for the production

The common appearance of yew trees in almost all old church-yards, has given rise to an opinion pretty generally received; that the legislature formerly *enforced* the propagation of them in these repositories of the dead, (places not likely to be violated, particularly in times of superstition) for the purpose of furnishing bow staves*; articles of very high importance to our ancestors previous to the introduction of gunpowder.—The opinion is indeed strengthened by a similar tradition common among the lower ranks. I do not however find any *injunction* of this sort; though it does not seem improbable, that every parish might *voluntarily* plant yew

tion of yews; it might be a matter of wonder, that so few remained to the present day, did we not recollect, that the old English yeomanry were supplied from this tree, with those excellent bows, which rendered them the best and most dreaded archers in Europe. This constant and universal demand for yew, produced in time such a scarcity, that recourse was had to foreign countries for a supply; and the importation of them was enjoined, by express acts of parliament passed for that purpose. Stat. Ed. 4. c. 2. 1. Rich. 3. c. 11.

* It should seem, that yews were not only planted in church-yards to defend the churches from the wind, but on account of their use in making bows. John. and Stev. Shakespeare, v. V, p. 205. note (1).

trees

trees in its church-yard, as a *joint stock*, for the common benefit of the parishioners ; a step extremely likely to be adopted, at a period when every person was obliged by act of parliament to be furnished with a bow, and arrows* ; and when the general consumption of these articles, rendered *yew* bows scarce and expensive†.

I do not however pretend to say, this was the *original* cause of planting yew trees in christian cemeteries ; the practice might be nothing more, than a remnant of that superstitious worship paid by the ancient northern nations, in their Pagan state, to trees in general, and to oaks and yews in particular : a deeply rooted habit, which for a long time infected the christian converts of the north of Europe‡ : or perhaps, the yew tree might have been

* Stat. 13th Edward 1st. 2 c. 6. 3d Hen. 8th. c. 3.

† Yew at length became so scarce (as I have hinted in a preceding note) that to prevent a too great consumption of it, bowyers were directed to make *four* bows of witch-hazle, ash, or elm, to *one* of yew. And no person under seventeen, unless possessed of moveables worth forty marks, or the son of parents, having an estate of ten pounds per Annum, might shoot in a yew bow. Grose's Mil. Antiq. v. I. p. 142.

‡ For the reverence paid to trees by the *Gauls*, see Pliny Lib. XVI. c. 34. Also, a learned disquisition on this subject

been placed in church-yards, as an emblem of that eternal youth and vigor the soul enjoys, when its “earthly tabernacle” is mouldered into dust*.

Its frequency, however, in these scenes of mortal decay, has rendered it, at length, a necessary adjunct in the poetical sketches of a church-yard. The yew is now become the funereal tree; and the same honors are paid to it by the poets of the present age, as the cypress enjoyed from the bards of antiquity†.

in Keyser's Ant. Select. Septen. Hanover 1720, p. 70, et infra. The difficulty of extirpating this ill-directed veneration was very great. Diu etiam post Christi inductam religionem arborum, et lucorum cultum adeo invaluisse, ac viguisse in Germania, Italia, Gallia, aliisque provinciis constat, ut in eo evellendo multum infudarint pontifices regesque, &c. Du Fresne's Gloss. v. I. p. 193. in Voc. Arbores Sacrivi.

* The yew was a funereal tree, the companion of the grave, among the Celtic tribes. “Here, says the bard, speaking of two departed lovers, “rests their dust, Cuthullin! These lonely “yews sprang from their tomb, and shade them from the “storm.” Ossian, v. I. p. 240. octavo Edit.

† It is doubtful, whether the cypress was meant by the ancients, to be an emblem of an *immortal state*, or of annihilation after death; since the properties of the tree apply, happily enough, to each. The cypress was used on funereal occasions, say the commentators, “vel quia cariem non sentit, ad gloriæ immortalitatem significandam; vel quia semel excisa, non renascitur, ad mortem experimendam. Vide Servius in *Æn.* III. l. 64. and the Delphin Edit. on the same passage.

Parnell

Parnell for instance give us

“ the yew

“ Bathing a charnel house with dew.”

Blair apostrophizes it thus,

“ Trusty yew !

“ Chearless, unsocial plant, that loves to dwell

“ 'Midst skulls, and coffins, epitaphs and worms.”

Nor could Grey compleat his picture, without introducing, “ the yew tree's shade.”

In the middle of the twelfth century, the manor of Brockenhurst was possessed by the ancestors of Sir Henry Spelman*. It was held by the following singular tenure, the terms of which strongly mark the simplicity of those early times.

“ Peter Spileman† held of the King in
“ *Capite*, one carucate of land, in Brocken-
“ hurst, in the county of Southampton; by
“ the fearjanty of finding an Esquire, with
“ a hambergell, or coat of mail, for forty
“ days in England; and of finding *litter* for

* See the pedigree in his life, prefixed to his works.

† Over one of the south windows of Brockenhurst church, I remark an ancient coat of arms, which, I apprehend, is that of the Spelman family.

“ the *King's bed*, and *hay* for the King's *palfry*,
 “ when the King should lie at Brockenherst,
 “ in the county of Southampton*.”

By this entry, we find it was customary with the Anglo-Norman monarchs, to make occasional excursions into the New-forest; doubtless for the purpose of pursuing the sport they were so much attached to. I have somewhere read an account of Edward the third remaining a few days at *Lyndhurst*, on an expedition of the same nature. The subjects who held land of the crown, and dwelt on the spots honored with these royal visits, were usually bound to provide by the terms of their tenure, conveniences for the King on such occasions. Great preparations, we see, were not required; Edward the II. being content with straw for his own bed, and hay for his horse. The litter was thrown upon a pallet, on which the monarch reclined; a sheet, or rug being cast over him. Thus simple was the Anglo-Norman bed†. Robust as severe
 and

* Fines Hill. i Edward II. Wilts. Blount's Ancient Tenures, p. 92. et 123.

† It must be observed here, however, the bed spoken of above, was the one used by the *middling ranks of people*. Edward the

and continual exercise rendered our ancestors, their repose was not prevented by the hardness of the couch, or coarseness of the covering. The little inconvenience, indeed, which they experienced from sleeping in this rough manner, may account for the backwardness of improvement in the article of *beds* among the old English, which certainly did not keep pace with the gradual progress of refinement in other respects. It was at the beginning of the sixteenth century only, that a more comfortable mode of reposing was introduced among the middling ranks. Hollingshead says, “ that in
 “ the memory of men living in his days, was
 “ made a great amendment in lodging, for
 “ our fathers, (he observes) and we ourselves,
 “ have lyen, full oft, upon straw pallettes,
 “ covered only with a sheete, under cover-
 “ lettes made of dogswain, or hopharlots, I

the II. might have indulged in the comforts of a feather-bed, and matress had he chosen so to do; since they appear among the articles of domestic furniture, belonging to his predecessor. Garderob. lib. introduct. p. 38. But in a temporary visit, to a place so distant from the metropolis as New-forest, it is probable he would rather have endured the inconvenience of sleeping hard, than load his retinue with the incumbering apparatus of a royal bed.

“ use

“ use the very wordes of the old men, from
 “ whom I received the accounts, and a good
 “ round logge under their heades, insteade
 “ of a boulster. If it were so, that our fa-
 “ thers, or the good man of the house, had
 “ a matteres, or flock bed, and thereto a
 “ sacke of chafe, to rest hys heade upon, he
 “ thought himself to be as well lodged, as the
 “ lorde of the town, so well were they con-
 “ tented. *Pillowes*, saide they, were thought
 “ meete only for women in childe-bed. As
 “ for the servantes, if they had any sheete
 “ above them, it was well, for feldom had
 “ they any under their bodies, to keepe them
 “ from the pricking strawes, that ran oft
 “ thorow the canvas, and raced their hardened
 “ hides*.

Adjoining to the church, within a park,
 stands *Brockenburst-house*, the seat of John
Morant Esquire; a handsome, modern-built,
 substantial mansion. The views from it, which
 are numerous, owing to the undulations of
 the surrounding grounds, are all in the richest

* Descrip. Brit. v. I. p. 856. Strutt's *Horda Angel. Cyn-*
nan, v. II. p. 88.

stile of wood scenery; whilst several huge oaks,

“ Which long have stood the rage of conqu’ring years
“ Inviolate;”

spread their venerable shade around, and give a grandeur and dignity to the spot, that art, with all its tricks, could never have produced.

Within the same park is included Watcombe; an house at present untenanted, but which it would be impardonable to pass over in silence, since it was a few years ago inhabited by a character that does honor to human nature. The person I allude to, was the amiable philanthropist *Mr. Howard*, who purchased it in 1759 of Captain Blake, late of the India service, deceased.

Mr. Howard however did not remain long at this place. Situated rather low as the house is, with a piece of water in front and lofty woods on every side; he found the exhalations, and vapours, incidental to such a situation, rather unfavourable to those astronomical observations, in which he extremely delighted*.

After

* As a proof of the perseverance, with which Mr. Howard pursued every object on which his attention was fixed, it may be

After a residence therefore of three years on the spot, he quitted it entirely; to the great regret of numerous distressed families, which had constantly been relieved by his benevolence.

One might have hoped that a gentleman of Mr. Howard's exalted character, who devoted his time, exhausted his health, employed his fortune, and at length lost his life, in the practice of universal and disinterested philanthropy, would have left a name behind him, at which malignity itself durst not have aimed a dart. But alas! excellence is always obnoxious; and that levelling principle of profligacy, which wishes to reduce all to its own miserable standard; and as it cannot rise to admiration itself, endeavours to prevent others from attaining it, would not suffer even Mr. Howard to escape its notice.

Calumny has been busy with his name; and endeavoured to stain, with the foul macu-

be worth remark, that on the frost setting in, he used, during its continuance, to leave his bed at two every morning; for the purpose of observing the state of a thermometer, fixed in his garden, which was at several hundred yards distance from the house. *Gent. Mag.* April 1790.

lations

lations of parental unkindness, harsh pride, and ostentatious vanity, a character which seems to have approached as near to perfection, as human frailty will permit.

It is not however by dark attempts of this nature, that the firm fabric of Mr. Howard's virtues can be overthrown, or shaken ;

“ The *actions* of the *just*,
“ Smell sweet, and blossom in the *dust* :”

and the good deeds of this excellent man will render his memory sacred, as long as the admiration of exalted virtue shall exist, or the practice of unlimited benevolence be held in esteem.

I am happy to bear testimony to the excellence of this gentleman, in adding the following particulars respecting him ; which were given me by an old man who had rented a little farm of Mr. Howard, during his residence in Hampshire.—The recital was not made without tears ; and he closed it with this emphatic remark. “ Ah ! Sir, Mr. Howard did not remain long with us ; such
“ goodness as his was too great to be confined
“ within the narrow limits of Brockenhurst
“ parish.”

One

One of the first acts of Mr. Howard on settling at Brockenhurst was, to make a tour through his parish, and visit in person the numerous needy families it contained. To each of these he gave immediate pecuniary relief, comfortable cloathing, a bible, a common prayer-book, and a "whole duty of man;" donations which he repeated as often as their necessity required them.

Mr. Howard had been brought up in the principles of presbyterianism; but his religion was of that amiable and useful sort, which considers the *practice* of the christian duties, as a matter of far higher importance than the mere assent to any particular point of a *speculative* nature. Hence his attendance at church and the meeting-house, was equally regular; going in the morning, to the latter at Lymington, and to the parish-church in the afternoon. His benevolence was of the same extensive kind; and, like the sun, diffused its blessings equally on all. It was enough for Mr. Howard to *see distress*; the *form* it wore was not material; no difference of sect or opinion cramped his philanthropy, or prevented him from endeavouring to remove it.

When

When it became necessary for him to retire from Watcombe; he strove to render his loss less severely, and immediately felt, by doubling the gratuity he usually bestowed.—After his departure, he frequently remitted to the poor inhabitants of Brockenhurst, money and cloaths; and when he was at Portsmouth, preparing to sail on the last voyage which providence permitted him to make; his servant was dispatched with a considerable sum of money, to distribute among the former dependents on his bounty.

Such was Mr. Howard's character; and whether with virtues like these, contraction of sentiment, or unfeelingness of heart could exist, I leave to the reader to determine.

When it became necessary for him to return from London, he took with him his wife, daughter, and two sons, by leaving the property he usually retained after his departure, he frequently resorted to the same method of procuring money and clothing, and when he was in London, he was to be found at the half way house, where he remained until he had procured what was necessary for his journey. He was a considerable sum of money, to the tribute among the lower strata of the population.

Such was Mr. Howard's character, and whether with virtue, or with corruption, of intention, or indifference, he could not leave to the reader to determine.

C H A P. III.

*Anecdotes of Hunting: British, Saxon, Norman,
and old English.*

AS I shall shortly conduct my reader into New-forest, an extensive tract of country, formerly the grand scene of those sylvan amusements in which our ancestors so greatly delighted; it will not, I trust, be deemed inapplicable to my subject, if I give a preliminary account of *English venery*, from its earliest times, to the period when it ceases to be a matter of curiosity to the *antiquarian*, and more properly claims the notice of the *modern hunter*.

An ingenious and penetrating writer, who has made profound researches into the nature and history of man, entertains the opinion, that an *appetite for hunting* is a principle inherent in the human mind; wisely implanted in it by our Creator, as a mean by which man in his natural, savage state, may be furnished
with

with subsistence*. This opinion indeed seems to have its foundation in truth; for if we advert to man in his *original* character, we shall find him of all beings the most helpless, and least capable of providing for the support of life. Altogether unacquainted with those arts, tillage and agriculture, which by a tedious but certain process, afford him when more civilized his daily bread; unable through want of experience to tame the less docile animals, or to domesticate such as providence intended for his peculiar use; did he not possess this innate appetite, which stimulates him to the chase and renders him careless of its fatigues and dangers; it seems difficult to conceive by what methods he could exist, in his solitary, unassisted state. The opinion too receives additional strength, when we contemplate such nations as still continue in the simple habits of *savage life*; and perceive that hunting is among them all universally followed. The call of hunger, observes Lord Kaimes, is not alone sufficient to engage men to bear with cheerfulness the toil of this exercise, and the uncer-

* Lord Kaime's sketches of man, v. I. p. 86.

tainty of capture. Savages who act by sense, not by foresight, move not when the stomach is full; and it would be too late when the stomach is empty, to form a hunting party*. If necessity then, powerful as its incitements are, be not the cause of this general passion for hunting observable in savage life, it must proceed from some principle or appetite deeply ingrafted in the mind of man; an illustrious instance, among many others, of that wise, and kind adaptation of his internal constitution to his external circumstances, which providence has displayed in the formation of him.

The ancient Britons who came originally from Gaul†, and were one of the widely-extended Celtic tribes; brought with them this ardent passion for the chase‡. Such of them indeed as settled themselves in the maritime parts of Britain, quickly arrived at a state of some civilization§, and in a great measure remitted their attention to sylvan amuse-

* Idem, p. 87.

† Cæsar, lib. V. Tacitus Agric. c. 2.

‡ Dio Niceas-Cæsar.

§ Cambell's Polit. Survey, v. II. p. 295. Vide supra.

ments.

ments. But those who inhabited the *interior* regions of the country, retained the modes of savage life until the period of Cæsar's arrival in Britain. Among this bold, and active race, the delights of hunting were held in high request; and yielded only in estimation to the joys of battle*.

“ Amid the tempest let me die,” says a Celtic chieftain, “ torn, in a cloud, by angry
“ ghosts of men; amid the tempest let Cal-
“ mar die, if ever chace was sport to him,
“ so much as the battle of shields†.”

By the constant practice of this severe and hardy exercise in which they employed the hours of peace; the ancient Britons acquired that muscular strength, undaunted courage, and wonderful agility, which were displayed with such advantage in their struggles for liberty with their invaders, and so often gave

* The enjoyment of the chace made a part of that bliss, which the Celtic warrior expected to experience, in the world of spirits. Their notion was, that after death, they should “ pursue deer formed of clouds, and bend their airy bows.” That they should “ still love the sport of their youth, and mount
“ the wind with joy.” Ossian's poems. v. I. p. 199.

† Ossian. v. I. p. 225.

a check to the steady and persevering exertions of Roman discipline*.

Nor was this attachment to the chase confined to the rougher sex alone; the British fair ones delighted in the pursuit of the roe and deer. Armed with a bow and quiver, and attended by their faithful dogs, they frequently indulged in this amusement; and flew the game which was afterwards served up in the “Hall of shells,” to the warriors who had reaped laurels in the field of battle†.

It seems probable however, that they pursued only the timid tenants of the forest; such as the hart, the hind, the roebuck, and the

* The chase was considered by one of the wisest nations of antiquity as the best school of war. Public hunting matches were therefore appointed by the Persian monarchs, in which they assisted in person. Δια τὸτο δὲ δημοσία τῆ θήραν ἐπιμελοῦνται, καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆ θήρας, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως ἀν θήρῃεν, ὅτι ἀληθεύουσα δοκεῖ αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι. ΞΕΝ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΑΙ. Α. 10. Edit. Hutch. And in another place speaking of the same exercise, Xenophon tells us Cyrus trained the young Persians in the practice of this sport; because he thought it the best preparative for a knowledge of the military art Ταύτην ἡγεμὼν καὶ ὅλως ἀρετὴν ἀσκήσιν πολεμικῶν εἶναι. Id. H. 439. Among the early Romans also, hunting was a necessary branch of education. “Venatu
“ invigilant pueri, fylvasque fatigant.” Virg.

† Offian. v. I. p. 8. et p. 183.

goat; while the Celtic chieftain fought renown in the destruction of the *wolf*, and the *boar**. From instances of prowess displayed on these occasions, they frequently received honorable, and distinguishing appellations: "Stern hunter of the boar," is the title given to Duth-maruno, who had signalized himself in the chase of this ferocious animal "when," in the figurative language of Ossian, "the
"bristly strength of I-thorno, rolled on his
"lifted spear†."

* The wild bull also was an object of British veneration. "For
"this creature see the coins of Cunobelin, class. iii. N^o. 5, and
"class. v. N^o. 1. Mr. Pennant in the Zoology, v. I. p. 18.
"seems to think this animal extinct; but the late Marmaduke
"Cuthbert Tunstall of Wycliffe Esquire, whose death I most
"sincerely lament, sent me a print, not long since of the wild
"bull, of the ancient *Caledonian* breed, now ranging in the
"park at Chillingham castle, in Northumberland. Mr. Tun-
"stall was no contemptible judge of these matters, but perhaps
"not so perfect, and accurate a connoisseur as Mr. Pennant.
"See however this last gentleman's second tour to Scotland, p.
"109. to which I shall only add, that Fitz-Stephen reports,
"that in his time, the 12th century, the immense forest of
"Middlesex afforded the wild bull; and of his horns we may
"well suppose the curious ancient drinking horns were com-
"posed, for which see Cæsar, &c." Mr. Pegge's Dissert.
Archæolog. v. X. p. 163.

† Ossian, v. I. p. 6. 7.

As a considerable degree of courage, strength, and agility, was requisite in this species of hunting; opportunities of displaying these talents, the only ones which savage manners esteem or affect, were by the Celtic chieftains sought with eagerness, and embraced with rapture. Hence it was considered at their hunting parties, as a compliment of the highest nature and the greatest proof of hospitality, for the host to honor his guest with “the danger of the chace;” or in other words, to permit him to attack and destroy the boar, that was roused for the purpose*. Tradition has

* Ossian, v. 1. p. 8. et 183. As I have repeatedly quoted the poems of Ossian, and grounded, upon their authority, most of my observations respecting *British hunting*; it seems but right, that I should state those reasons, which have induced me to incline to the opinion of the genuineness of these compositions. I judge them to be an authentic picture of Celtic manners, both from *internal*, and *external* evidence. “It is a noted, and well-founded observation,” I use Lord Kaime’s words, “that manners are never painted *to the life*, by any one to whom they are not familiar. It is not difficult to draw the outline of imaginary manners; but to fill up the picture with all the variety of tints that manners assume in different circumstances, uniting all concordantly in one whole—*hic labor, hoc opus est*. Yet the manners here supposed to be invented, are delineated in a variety of incidents, of sentiments, of images, and of allusions, making

has handed down an instance, where a breach of this point of etiquette was considered as a mortal affront, and attended with very bloody consequences. Torcul-torno, a northern chieftain,

one entire picture, without once deviating into the slightest incongruity. Every scene in Ossian, relates to hunting, to fighting, or to love, the sole occupations of men in the original state of society; there is not a single image, simile, or allusion, but what is borrowed from that state, without a jarring circumstance. Supposing all to be mere invention, is it not surprising to find no mention of highland clans, or of any name now in use? Is it not still more amazing, that there is not the slightest hint of the christian religion, not even in a metaphor, or allusion? Is it not equally amazing, that in a work where deer's flesh is frequently mentioned, and a curious method of roasting it, there should not be a word of fish as food, common in later times? Very few highlanders know that their fathers did not eat fish; and supposing it to be known, it would require singular attention, never to let a hint of it enter the poem. Can it be supposed, that a modern writer could be so constantly on his guard, as never to mention corn or cattle? In a story so scanty of poetical images, the sedentary life of a shepherd, and the industry of a husbandman, would make a capital figure; the cloven foot would somewhere peep out. And yet, in all the works of Ossian, there is no mention of agriculture; and but a slight hint of a herd of cattle in one or two allusions. I willingly give all advantages to the unbeliever: supposing the author of Ossian to be a late writer, adorned with every refinement of modern education; yet, even upon that supposition, he is a miracle, far from being equalled by any other author ancient, or modern. Kaimes's sketches of man, v. I. p. 427. The

external.

tain, invited Starno, king of Lochlin, to a hunting party. The Prince accepting the invitation, they both went to the mountains of Stivamore to pursue their game. A boar rushed from the wood, and Torcul-torno in contradiction to all the rules of politeness destroyed it. Starno considering this conduct as a breach of hospitality, resented it warmly. A quarrel arose: blows ensued; and after a sharp con-

external evidence I would produce (to say nothing of Mr. M'pherson having seen the four first books of the poem *Fingal*, written in the old dialect of the Celtic tongue, and bearing date three centuries back) arises from a fact communicated to me last summer, by a person, whose judgment and veracity may be depended upon. It is a lady of very extensive information, who was staying in the house of the chief of Rothsay, one of the Hebrides, a few years ago. The conversation of the party, turning one afternoon on the beauties of Ossian's compositions, a doubt respecting their authenticity was started by the visitor; on which the Laird ordered an elderly man, who officiated as bard and piper to the family, to be introduced. On entering, he was desired to clear up the lady's doubts by repeating one of Ossian's poems; this he immediately did, reciting in the ancient dialect, a very long quotation from *Fingal*; which quotation the person who honored me with the anecdote, comparing with Mr. M'pherson's publication, found the most indubitable marks of the latter being a faithful translation, allowing for the necessary corruptions which would take place by means of the uncertain channel of oral tradition. The piper, it is to be observed, could neither read nor write.

fiect, Torcul-torno's party was put to flight, and its leader destroyed*.

The following short account of a Celtic hunting-match, will naturally enough introduce a few observations, on the manner and implements of hunting, customary, and in use, among the ancient Britons.

“ Morning trembles with the beam of the
 “ east; it glimmers on Cromla's side. Over
 “ Lena is heard the horn of Swaran; the
 “ sons of ocean gather around. Silent, and
 “ sad, they rise on the wave. The blast of
 “ *Erin* is behind their sails. White as the
 “ mist of Morven, they float along the sea.
 “ Call, said Fingal, call my dogs, the long-
 “ bounding sons of the chase—call, white-
 “ breasted Bran, and the surly strength of
 “ Luath!—Fillan and Ryno; but he is not
 “ here! My son rests on the bed of death!
 “ Fillan and Fergus! blow the horn, that
 “ the joy of the chase may arise; that the
 “ deer of Cromla may hear, and start at the
 “ hill of roes.”

“ The shrill sound spreads along the woods.
 “ The sons of heathy Cromla arise. A thou-

* Offian, v. I. p. 8.

“ sand dogs fly off at once, grey-bounding
 “ through the heath. A deer fell by every
 “ dog—three by white-breasted Bran. He
 “ brought them in their flight, to Fingal,
 “ that the joy of the king might be great*.”

It is manifest from this passage and numerous others in Ossian, that the Britons did not make use of *horses* in their hunting expeditions. Strong, swift, and agile, they found no difficulty in pursuing on foot, the fleetest animals of the forest. “ Swift hunter of the deer;” “ light bounding son of the chace;” and such like, are the titles bestowed on many of Ossian’s heroes, highly expressive of the extraordinary velocity and activity, which they displayed on these occasions. Add to this that their dogs were admirable; their arrows almost always unerring; and we shall not wonder at their hunting-matches terminating in such a carnage of game as the above account relates.

With respect to the *weapons* used by the Britons in hunting, Strabo tells us they were nearly the same as those they employed in war. Javelins and spears—bows and arrows—dogs:

* Ossian, v. I. p. 327.

also accompanied them in both*. The spear was serviceable in the fierce contest with the boar; the arrow levelled the roebuck and other fleet inhabitants of the forest.

“ Arindal my son, descended from the hill,
 “ rough in the spoils of the chace. His ar-
 “ rows rattled by his side; his bow was in
 “ his hand. Five dark-grey dogs attend his
 “ steps†.”

The *dog*, the faithful associate of man in the labours of the chace, was the most serviceable attendant upon these occasions. He indeed makes a distinguished figure, in the history of *British venery*. The swiftness of his foot, the quickness of his scent, the sagacity of his nature, and the fidelity of his attachments‡, rendered

* Strabo, l. IV. p. 199.

† Ossian, v. l. p. 214.

‡ The following beautiful and affecting picture, displays the fidelity and vigilance of “ white-breasted Bran,” in very pleasing colours.—His master, the youthful Fillan, was killed in battle, and his body placed in a cave, near the mouth of which flowed a rivulet. “ One tree was bent above the stream, which
 “ glittered over the rock. There shone to the moon, the bro-
 “ ken shield of Clatho’s son; and near it, on the grass, lay
 “ hairy-footed Bran. He had missed the chief on *Mora*, and
 “ searched him along the wind. He thought that the blue-
 “ eyed

rendered the British dog not only extremely estimable in the country where he was bred, but highly prized and much sought after by the surrounding nations*.

After the reduction of our island by the Romans, so excellent a character did this animal acquire both for his dexterity in the chase and fierceness in the combat; (for Strabo testifies, he would, on occasion, act the part of an excellent soldier) that he became a valuable article of commerce; and a Roman officer was appointed to reside at Winchester, for the express purpose of collecting and breeding British dogs, to furnish the amphitheatre and imperial kennel at Rome†.

Antiquity indeed is lavish in his praises; and several poets both Greek and Latin, have

“ eyed hunter slept, he lay upon his shield. No blast came
“ over the heath, unknown to bounding Bran.” Ossian’s poems,
v. II. p. 131.

* Strabo, lib. IV. p. 199. It is observable, that the superior excellence of English dogs, to those of every other nation throughout Europe, is acknowledged universally to this day. For Dr. Cambell remarks, “ all the neighbouring countries do justice to our dogs, adopt our terms and names, into their own language, receive them thankfully as presents, and when they have an opportunity, purchase them at a dear rate.” Cambell’s Political Survey, v. II. p. 205. note (d).

† He was stiled, the procurator of the Cynegium Ventense.

not

not thought him unworthy of metrical eulogy*.

Numerous then as the advantages were which the Celtic nations drew from this animal, we cannot wonder at their partiality towards him; nor be surprised to find in their legal institutions, various regulations to prevent him from being either stolen or destroyed. There is one law extant of a very curious nature, which condemns the violator of this valuable property, to a *public salutation* of the *posteriors* of the dog he had concealed†.

We

* Oppian, Claudian, Gratius, and Nemesianus. Vide Camden's Brit. in Hant. The British dog did not lose its celebrity in after ages. When king Alfred requested *Fulco* Archbishop of Rheims, to send some learned ecclesiastics into England, for the ministration of the gospel there; he accompanied his letter, with a present of several dogs, being the most valuable one he could, in those times, bestow. The Archbishop acknowledges the gift, in these curious terms. "Miseris siquidem nobis licet generosos
 " et optimos, tamen corporales atque mortales canes, ad abigen-
 " dam rabiem visibilium luporum, quibus, inter cætera flagella
 " justo Dei judicio nobis inlata, plurimum abundat patria nos-
 " tra; quærentes a nobis et ipsi canes non corporales sed spiri-
 " tuales; non tales videlicet qualibus exprobrat propheta, dicens,
 " Canes muti, non valentes latrare—sed de qualibus dicit psal-
 " mista, Lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis, ab ipso." Epist. Fulcon. in Affer. Meneven. p. 126. Edit. Wise.

* Si quis canem veltrem, aut segutium, vel petrunculum, præsumserit involare, jubemus ut convictus, coram omni populo,

We now proceed to the *venatic* sports of our Saxon ancestors.

As these fierce invaders were but just emerging from a state of savage barbarity, at the period of their first appearance in Britain: they in course followed such modes of life, as are common among men so far removed from civilization and refinement. Hunting (as before observed) is one of those avocations, in which barbarous nations are necessarily employed. That the *Germans* pursued this sport with wonderful keenness and delight, is attested by the most respectable writers of antiquity. Cæsar assures us they passed their whole life either in the toils of war, or in the labors of the chase; and that a large proportion of their subsistence, was drawn from the latter exercise*. The philosophic Tacitus also, upwards of an hundred years afterwards, remarked in them the same propensities†.

When

pulo, posteriora ipsius oscularetur. Pellontier Hist. Celt. l. II. c. 12. p. 462.

* Vita omnis in venationibus, atque in studiis rei militaris consistit. Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. VI. c. 21. et 29.

† Quotiens Bellum non ineunt, multum venatibus. Tacit. Mor. Ger. c. 15. It is observable, that the Elzevir, and other good editions of Tacitus, read, "*non multum*," instead of "*multum*;"

When their conquest of England was completed, and they had leisure to turn their thoughts from war to the settlement of their government, and their wonted occupations and amusements: though they then gradually increased in civilization, yet we find that a strong inclination to the chase, still continued to be a prominent feature in the Saxon character. Hunting was the general passion of all the higher ranks; and in this rural amusement, the King, the Thane, the Bishop, and the Abbot, spent a great portion of that leisure time which they enjoyed in such abundance*.

A scientific knowledge of venery was esteemed by the Anglo-Saxons, one indispensable requisite in the narrow circle of qualifications which formed their *men of fashion*. Hence princes and the sons of great men, were early instructed in the art of pursuing and destroying game; and the illustrious Alfred himself, was perfectly acquainted with this branch of educa-

"*multum*;" but it is the general opinion of the most learned critics, that the *non* in this passage is spurious.

* By one of the forest laws of Canute the great; Thanes, Bishops, and Abbots, are allowed to hunt in the King's demesnes. Constitut. Can. Reg. de Foresta. apud Spel. Gloss. P. 140. 141. 142.

tion,

tion, long before he could read his vernacular tongue*.

In that curious and valuable publication by Mr. Strutt, intituled the *Horda Angel Cynnan*, we have a delineation from an ancient Saxon calandar†, representing a Thane and his attendant engaged in the chace. They are both *on foot*, for such was the Anglo-Saxon mode of hunting; bare-headed, and armed in the following manner.

The Lord has in his *right* hand, a spear, apparently of eight or nine feet in length; with a long, flat, lozenge head to it. A large sword is girded to his left side; which he grasps with that hand. Over the same shoulder is thrown a loose cloak: this he probably made use of when occasion required, either to rouse the rage of the boar, (in the pursuit of which he is engaged) or to baffle his attacks. The huntsman follows behind, sounding an horn, which is suspended by a loose strap over the right shoulder. This he holds

* Afferus de Ælfredi Rebus gestis. apud Cam. Scrip. Norman. P. 5. l. 20. Vide also Ælfredi Vit. apud Spelman. l. III. c. 65.

† MS. of the 11th century. Brit. Museum. Cotton. lib. Tiberius. B. 5.

to his mouth with the left hand. In the other he has a spear, like the one described above. After him come two dogs coupled together, seemingly of the grey-hound kind*.

From this representation of a Saxon hunt it appears, that the rural amusements of our ancestors, were of a far more noble and manly nature, than the puny chaces of modern times. The species of hunting in which they delighted, was a sport that gave vigor to the frame, strength to the constitution; and nourished that martial ardor, and fearless intrepidity, which when exerted in the field of battle, generally carried off the palm of victory†.

A great variety of laws were promulgated by the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, to prevent any of the inferior ranks of people, from trespassing on the amusements of the king and nobility, by pursuing or destroying the game.

* Horda Angel Cynnan, or a compleat view of the manners, customs, &c. of the inhabitants of England, &c. 4to. 3 vols. White 1775, v. I. plate 12.

† Saxonibus avito ex Germanis more, venatibus exercere juventutem pulchrum et laudabile habebatur. Quod studium duritiæ ferendæ aptos, laboris patientes, et periculis assuefactos, reddit. Quæ tamen venatio præcipue in *feris*, et *nocivis animalibus* extirpandis occuparetur. Spelman's Vit. Alf. p. 157.

Sacred as they considered this exclusive privilege of hunting, and exquisite as their enjoyment of it was; a story told by William of Malmſbury, does no little credit to the patient philosophy of *Edward the Confessor*, who is said to have entertained a strong passion for it. This Prince being engaged in the chace, his party had driven a large herd of stags into several narrow stalls, erected for the purpose, in which by means of nets, they inclosed the deer, and then selecting such as they chose to take, gave the others their liberty. These receptacles, a certain countryman had broken down, so that the game escaped. The king was sorely hurt at his disappointment; but at the same time, possessing magnanimity sufficient to govern his rage, only exclaimed to the terrified rustic; “ By G-d and his mother, “ I would punish thee severely—if I could “ trust myself to do it*.”

An example of forbearance which many of the mighty hunters of the present day, would do well to imitate.

* Will. Malmſ. de Gest. Reg. Ang. apud Saville, c. 13. fol. 43. c. l. l. 30.

If it were possible that the Anglo-Saxons could be exceeded by any other nation, in their fondness for field sports; I believe it was by the Normans alone, who seem to have labored under a sort of *Furor venaticus*.

The inordinate passion indeed, which the Anglo-Norman kings entertained for this amusement, was the source of lamentable ills to their subjects; ills which survived their cause for centuries, and exist in some degree, even to the present day. Setting aside the very disputable account of that devastation which William is said to have committed in the southern part of Hampshire, (an account I shall examine in the ensuing chapter) the *forest laws* remain an unhappy proof, of the cruel effects this blind infatuation produced: laws, which though deprived by the policy of succeeding monarchs of their original sanguinary hue, still continue to be (even in their present softened state) a reproach to a country that boasts itself to be free*.

* The forest laws, as they remain to this day, surely breathe a spirit of oppression utterly incompatible, with the freedom of the English constitution. The punishments they inflict, exceed, beyond all proportion, the nature and criminality of the offence intended to be prevented; they are consequently unjust, and the institutions which enforce them tyrannical.

We may form some idea of the Conqueror's high enjoyment of rural sports ; not only from the rigorous measures he adopted to secure the game from violation, but from the princely donations he bestowed, on those who assisted in promoting these delights. Domesday-book evinces, that Waleran the huntsman possessed no less than fifteen manors in Wiltshire, eight in Dorsetshire, together with several in Hampshire ; and his name occurs on the list of tenants *in Capite* in other counties. The same venerable remain of antiquity, records the extensive possessions of other huntsmen, who bore the names of *Croc*, Godwin, Willielmus, &c. &c*.

The ardor of the great Norman Lords for this exercise, kept pace with that of their monarchs : and the same tyrannic severity against the unfortunate violator of the game, was exercised by these mighty hunters on their

* Vide Wiltshire extracted from Dom. Book, 8vo. Salisbury 1788. Hampshire extracted from ditto, London 1789 4to. and Dissert. on Dom. Book prefixed to Hutchins's Hist. Dorset. Together with the lists of tenants in Capite, to be found at the head of every county, in Dom. Book, published by authority of parliament a few years since.

own estates, which the King practised against trespassers on his demesnes*.

“ In these days, says an ancient writer,
 “ our nobility esteem the sports of hunting
 “ and hawking as the most honorable employ-
 “ ments, the most exalted virtues; and to be
 “ continually engaged in these amusements,
 “ is, in their opinion, the summit of human
 “ happiness. They prepare for a *hunt*, with
 “ more trouble, anxiety, and cost, than they
 “ would for a battle; and follow the beasts
 “ of the forests, with greater fury than they
 “ do their enemies. By being constantly en-
 “ gaged in this savage sport, they contract
 “ habits of barbarity; lose, in a great mea-
 “ sure, their feeling; and humanity; and be-
 “ come nearly as ferocious, as the beasts
 “ which they pursue. The husbandman is
 “ driven, together with his innocent flocks
 “ and herds, from his fertile fields, his mea-
 “ dows, and his pastures, that beasts may
 “ roam there in their stead. Should one of

* The hunting establishment of the Norman nobility was incredibly great; many of them kept 1600 dogs for the chase, and a proportionable number of horses. Froissart, tom. IV. c. 27.

“ these

“ these potent, and merciless sportsmen pass
 “ your door; place before him in a moment
 “ all the refreshment your habitation affords,
 “ or that can be purchased, or borrowed, in
 “ your neighbourhood, that you may not be
 “ utterly ruined, or perchance accused of trea-
 “ son*.” The same writer tells us, the fair
 sex also caught the prevailing passion†; while,
 as we learn from other authors, the *mitre*
 deserted its functions, and the *cowl* quitted
 the quiet retirement of the monastery, to join
 in the fashionable transports of the chace‡.

We shall be surprised to find the clerical
 character make so conspicuous a figure as it
 does, in all rural sports during the middle
 ages§. But we must recollect, that at this
 period,

* Johan. Salisburi. de Nugis Curialium, l. I. c. 4. This
 strong attachment to field sports, marked the character of the
 English nobility in the fifteenth century. Paulus Jovius says,
 “ Nobilitas omnis fere urbes fastidit; Castellis et liberiore cœlo
 “ gaudet, generisque dignitatem una maxime *venatione*, et fal-
 “ conum aucupiiis tuetur.” Descr. Brit.

† Johan. Sarisbur. l. I. c. 4. p. 13. 14.

‡ Petrus Blesensis Epif. 56. p. 81. Chaucer's Prol. to Can-
 terbury Tales.

§ The *common law* sanctioned *clerics* in the practice of occa-
 sional hunting, that they might the better be enabled to discharge
 their pastoral functions. Sir Edward Coke says, in vindication

period, a cloud of ignorance and barbarism having overspread the greater part of Europe; such ranks of society as were removed by their riches or profession from the necessity of labour, could only amuse themselves with hunting, hawking, and other exercises, that required but little or no mental exertion. Ecclesiastics in particular, separated as they were from secular cares, had more time on their hands than any other description of people; a leisure they seem chiefly to have employed in the joys of the chace*.

It

of reverend sportsmen; “ Here is a secret conclusion of law,
 “ that albeit spiritual persons are prohibited by the *canon* law to
 “ hunt, yet by the *common law* of the land, they may for their
 “ recreation, to make them *fitter* for the performance of their
 “ duty, and office, use the exercise of hunting. 4 Inst. 309.

* The middle ages afford sad proofs of the degeneracy of the episcopal character, and the sacrifice made by patriarchs, bishops, and priests, of dignity and decency, to the pleasures of hunting. “ Theophylact patriarch of Alexandria in the 10th century, had in his stable above two thousand hunting horses; which he fed with pig-nuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines; to all which he added, the richest perfumes. One holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high mass, his groom brought him the joyful news, that one of his favorite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where,

It would be easy to adduce numerous instances to confirm this; but I shall content myself with the following remarkable ones.

Walterus, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was promoted to the see of Rochester in 1147, spent the whole of his time in *hunting*; utterly neglecting the high duties of his office. He lived to a very advanced age, and was when eighty years old, as keen a sportsman as ever*.

Reginaldus Brian, translated to the Bishopric of Worcester in 1352, was another episcopal Nimrod. In a MS epistle of his now extant, written to the Bishop of St. David's, Reginald reminds the father of a promise he had made, to send him six couple of excellent hunting dogs; the best, (the sportsman confesses) he

where, having expressed his joy at that grand event, he returned to the altar to finish the divine service, which he had left interrupted during his absence." Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. v. II. p. 400. Translator's note (o). This predominant passion occasioned a number of absurd, as well as indecent customs, in the clergy of this dark, unlettered period: among the rest, we are told, it was the practice, in some churches, for the *Deans*, when entering on their important office, to assist in the ceremonies, robed in a surplice, girded with a sword, furnished with a scrip, having golden spurs on their feet, and a hawk on their fist. Du Fresne, v. II. p. 17. in voc. Decani Eccl. Cathed.

* Petrus Blefensis Epist. 56. p. 81.

had ever seen. These, he tells him, he had been in anxious expectation of every day ; and he declares his heart languished for their arrival. “ Let them come then,” says he, “ oh
 “ reverend father, without delay ; let my
 “ woods reecho with the music of their cry,
 “ and the chearful notes of the horn ; and
 “ let the walls of my palace be decorated with
 “ the trophies of the chace*.”

Nor were these clerical sportsmen content with consuming their *leisure time* in amusements of this nature : they even contrived to blend them with the functions of their office ; and in the visitations and progresses which they made at particular periods through their dioceses, such numbers of hounds, horses, huntsmen, and falconers, swelled their retinue, that the religious houses in which they were pleased to quarter themselves, were frequently much distressed to provide for so large a company. About the year 1200, the Prior and Canons of Bridlington in Yorkshire, presented a formal complaint to Pope Innocent the third, against the Archdeacon of Richmond ; who when he

* MS. Bib. Cott. apud Museum Britan. Vitellius. E. X. 17.

made his visitations, brought so many horses, hawks, and attendants with him, that the complainants declared, his motley suite destroyed more provision in *one hour*, than their community consumed in a long time. The Pope in answer to their petition, dispatched a bull, directed to the Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and officials, of York, forbidding such shameful, and oppressive visits in future*.

The monasteries also afforded no less notable hunters than the episcopal chair. William de Clowne, whom his biographer celebrates, as the most amiable prelate that ever filled the abbacy of St. Mary's in Leicestershire, numbered among his other excellent qualities, a profound skill in the science of hunting. That his kennel might be always well supplied, he requested the King (Richard the second) to grant him a market, or fair, for the sole purpose of buying and selling hare-hounds, and other dogs; which request the king seeing he *passionately* desired it, complied with. This abbot (observes his eulogist) was esteemed the

* *Monasticon Anglicanum*, tom. II. p. 160. 50. a.

most famous and knowing sportsman in the pursuit of the hare, throughout the whole kingdom; infomuch, that the king himself, prince Edward his son, and most of the grantees in the realm, allowed him annual pensions, as a return for the instructions he gave them in this species of venery*.

The admirable Chaucer, that faithful painter of the manners of his age, has thus portrayed a hunting monastic of the fourteenth century,

“ A monk there was, a fayre for the maistris¹,
 “ An outrider, that loved venerie²,
 “ A manly man, to ben an abbot able;
 “ Ful meny a dainte hors hadde he in stable,
 “ And when he rode, men might his bridel here³
 “ Gingeling, in a whistling wind as clere

* Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. inter Decem Scrip. v. II. p. 2631.

¹ Clever in the art.

² Venerie, Hunting. Emilia says in the Knightes Tale v. 2310,

I am (thou wot) yet of thy compaignie,
 A mayde, and love huntyng and *venerie*.

³ This alludes to a custom common in Chaucer's time, among persons of distinction, who usually had their horses bridle, or some part of his furniture, stuck full of small bells. Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. v. I. p. 164. note (h).

“ And

" And eke as loud as doth the chapell bell
 " Whereat this Lord was keeper of the cell.
 " The reule⁴ of Saint Maure and of Seint Beneits,
 " Because that it was old, and somedele streit,
 " This ilke⁶ monke lette olde thinges to pace⁷,
 " And heldin after the new world to trace.
 " He gave not of the text a pullid hen⁸
 " That faith that hunters be not holy men.
 " Ne that a monk when he is rekkeless⁹,
 " Is like to a fish that is waterles;
 " That is to say, a monk out of his cloistre;
 " This ilke text, held he not worth an oistre.
 " And I say his opinion was good.
 " Greihoundes he hadde, as swift as foul of flight;
 " Of pricking, and of hunting for the hare,
 " Was all his lust, for no coste wolde he spare."

The remaining part of this jolly monk's portrait is so exquisitely drawn, that I make no apology for continuing the description.

" I saw his sleeves purfiled¹⁰ at the hande,
 " With grys¹¹, and that the finest in the lande.
 " And to sustene his hode under his chin,
 " He had of gold wrought, a ful curious pin,
 " A love-knotte in the greter ende there was.
 " His hed was bald, and shone as any glas,
 " And eke his face, as he had been anynt:
 " He was a lorde ful fat, and in gode point.

^{4—5} The rule, or order of St. Mary of Cistercium, or St. Benedict.

⁶ Ilke (same).

⁷ To go on as they were wont.

⁸ Or as we say; he did not care a straw for that text.

⁹ Careless.

¹⁰ Fringed.

¹¹ Fur.

" His

“ His eyen stepe, and rolling in his hed,
 “ That stemid¹² as a forneis of led.
 “ His bootes souple, his hors in gret estat;
 “ Now certainly he was a fayre prelat!
 “ He was not pale, as a forpymid ghoft;
 “ A fat swan loved he best of any roft¹³.
 —“ His palfry was as brown as is a bery*.”

The *Norman* mode of hunting must have been rather insipid and spiritless, in comparison with the manly and animating chace of the wild boar, and wolf, which our Saxon ancestors pursued on foot.—Instead of this practice, the more polished Normans refined upon the Anglo-Saxon method, and introduced the luxury of horses in hunting; confining their sport in a great measure, to the destruction of the less offensive and dangerous animals, such as harts, roebucks, foxes, hares, &c. Not that they altogether forsook the pursuit of the wolf, and boar; though from the few casual

¹² Smoked.

¹³ The swan was a bird in high esteem among the old English, and was constantly seen at all great entertainments. The fashionable mode of dressing it was, to take off its skin, and roast it. When sufficiently done, it was taken from the fire; the skin (at least the tail feathers) again put on, and served up at the table. See more on this subject in the Introduction to my “*Antiquitates Culinariæ*.” 1791. 4to. Blamire.

* Chaucer’s Prologue to Cant. Tales V. 164.

hints on this subject which may be found in our early writers, it appears their *chief* amusement consisted in hunting beasts of a different description.

They had two methods of following this diversion; one of which, (that most usually pursued) a modern sportsman, would by no means dignify with the name of hunting. To say the truth, it must have been a very *tame* amusement. The king, or baron, attended by a numerous retinue, mounted his palfrey and rode to the spot which had been marked out for the sport of the day. Here the great man and his favorites took their stations, in places by which they thought it probable the game might pass; the attendants separating, dispersed themselves through the forest, and rousing the deer, endeavoured to drive them to these fatal spots. As the animals glided by, the sportsmen discharged their arrows at them; and being in the constant habits of using these weapons, they were so excellently skilled in archery, that their bows seldom twanged in vain*.

It

* It should seem, these royal huntings were attended with great expence. Edward the third gave one, in which he spent
between

It was in the pursuit of this amusement, that William Rufus according to the testimony of ancient historians lost his life*.

Little different from this, but attended with more ceremonial, was the diversion named the *Traist*, or *Trista*, which I find thus described.

A wide and extensive plain was sought out, surrounded entirely by a wood, which was barricadoed on all sides, excepting certain openings in particular spots, to permit the ingress and egress of the game. A mound or eminence was raised, (if there were no natural knoll) in this area; in such a situation as to command a view of the game, and give the person placed on it an opportunity of discharging his arrows at it. Here the king stood; the beasts were then driven into the area, and the dogs sent after them†. Such as passed near the ambushed monarch were destroyed by him. Those which attempted to escape through the openings before mentioned, were

between one and two hundred marks every day, during its continuance. Hen. Knyghton, l. IV. apud Dec. Scrip. 2 tom. 2727 page.

* Matthew Paris. Will. Malmf.

† I am informed, by an intelligent friend, that the manner in which the princes, and great men, in Germany, hunt at this day, is nearly similar to that described above.

torn

torn down by the dogs, or intercepted by the attendants stationed there for that purpose*.

An account of a hunting-match of this kind, occurs in a very ancient MS. poem, preserved in the British museum. As it is a curious display of old English manners in the *venatic line*, I presume an extract from it will not be unacceptable to my readers.

A feudal princess entertains Syr Ippomedon a Knight in disguise, at her castle: and being extremely anxious to discover whether he were of noble blood or not, she proposes a hunting match to satisfy her doubts; skill in this exercise, being antiently no inconsiderable criterion of gentility.

On the morrow whan yt was day,
To her men she gan to say,
“ Tomorowe, whan it is day light,
“ Lok ye be al redy dight,
“ With your houndis more and lesse,
“ In forrest to take my gresse†.
“ And thare I will myself be,
“ Your game to byholde and se.”

* Decem Scrip. v. I. p. 367. et Du Fresne's Gloss. in v. *Trista*.

† i. e. Gris, fur, the skin of beasts; a metonymy for the beasts themselves.

Ippomedon had houndis thre*
 That he brot from his countree;
 Whan they were to the wode gone,
 This ladye, and her men, ichone†,
 And with hem her houndis ladde,
 All that any houndis hadde.
 Syr Tholemew‡ forgate he noght§,
 His maistres houndis thyder he broght,
 That many a day he had ronne ere,
 Fful well he thot to note hem there.
 Whan thei came to the launde on hight,
 The Queene's pavylyon thar was pight||,
 That she might see al the best,
 Al the game of the Forrest;
 And to the lady brot mani a best,
 Herte and hynd, buck and doo,
 And other bestis many mo.
 The houndis that wer of gret prife,
 Plucked down dere all atryfe¶.
 Ippomedon, he with his hounds throo,
 Drew down both buck, and doo,
 More he took with houndis thre,
 Than al that othir compaignie.
 Thare Squyers undyd‡ hyr deere
 Eche man after his manere:

Ippomedon

* Anciently, no person of distinction, travelled without grey hounds. Vide infra.

† Every one.

‡ The Squire, attendant, and friend of Ippomedon.

§ Did not forget.

|| Pitched.

¶ In an hurry; or as we now express it, in a trice.

‡ Undyed. Cut up. It being a custom in former times, for the most distinguished personages present, to dissect the game;

Ippomedon a dere gede* unto,
 That ful konningly gon he hyt undo;
 So fayre that venyson he gan to dight,
 That both him byheld Squyre and Knighte;
 The ladye looked out of her pavylyon,
 And saw hym dight the venyson;
 There she had grete dainte
 And so had alle that dyd hym see.
 She sawe all that he down droughe,
 Of huntynge she wist he could ynoughe,
 And thot in her hert then
 That he was com of gentilmen†.
 She bad Jason‡ hire men to calle,
 Home then passed gret and smalle.

game; which was always done upon the spot, where it was killed. So in the antient Ballad of Chevy Chace.

The blewe a mort upon the bent (*field*)
 The semblyd on fydis shear; (*assembled on all sides*)
 To the quyvry (*slaughter'd game*) then the perfe went,
 To se the bryttlynge (*cutting up*) of the deare.

Ancient Poems, v. I. p. 6. The skill displayed on this occasion was a criterion of the carver's gentility. *Carving*, indeed, was, in the feudal times, an art in which the higher ranks of men were instructed. Before a person could receive the honor of Knighthood, it was necessary for him to fill several subordinate stations; among the rest, part of his noviciate was passed as a *carving Esquire*. See introduction to "Antiq. Culinariæ."

* Gede unto; went to.

† Seeing him skilled in every branch of the hunting art, she knew he must be a man of consequence.

‡ Jason, the name of her squire.

Home

Home thei com son anon,
 This ladye to her met* gan gon,
 And of venery had her fille,
 For they had taken game at wille†.

Though the old English ladies seem to have been somewhat partial to a sport which so deeply engaged the attention of their beaus; yet they practised it in a stile much more suitable to the delicacy of their sex, than our modern huntresses do. We deride the barbarous roughness, as we are pleased to term it, of ancient manners; without adverting to numerous customs of our own, which favour more of the earliest ages of Gothic simplicity, than the polished, and refined æra in which we live. Uncouth as we may esteem the dames of the Anglo-Norman, and old English times to have been; yet their notions of *propriety*, in many cases, were such as we must allow had their foundation in reason and truth. With respect to *hunting* indeed, few will assert them to have been otherwise. They did not affect the “ uncomely courage, un-

* Went home to dinner.

† Ancient MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 2252. 44. Wart.
 Eng. Poet. v. I. p. 198.

“ befeeming

beseeming skill," which our present huntresses display in the field.

" The cap, the whip, the masculine attire,
 " In which they roughen to the sense, and all
 " The winning softness of their sex is lost."

They rode in a litter or chair, either borne by men, or carried on a horse, and were content to see the game destroyed, without being themselves the destroyers of it.

But though the methods above described might be the most fashionable modes of hunting among the Normans, it is certain notwithstanding, they often followed their game on *Horse-back*; since the monkish writers inform us, that *Richard* one of the Conqueror's sons, perished in the New-Forest smitten by the branch of a tree, when riding inattentively after his game.

In Chaucer's time riding was pretty general on these occasions.

This mene I now, by mighty Theseus,
 That for to huntun is so desirous,
 And namely at the grete Harte in May;
 That in his bed, ther daweth him no day,
 That he n'is clad*, and redy for to ride
 With hunte, and horne, and houndes him besyde†.

* No morning dawns upon him, in which he is not clad, &c.

† Chaucer's "Knichtes Tale."

All the Anglo-Norman and early English monarchs, were extremely partial to a diversion which was so intimately connected with their state of life and manners—*Rufus* we have seen lost his life in its pursuit—And *John*, amidst all the bustle of a distracted and inglorious reign, found frequent opportunities of indulging an extreme passion for the chace. The fine rolls of his reign prove his predilection for hunting and hawking; since by these documents, he appears to have generally taken, in lieu of those fines which accrued to him in return for grants and seizure of estates, a variety of dogs, hawks, and horses; animals calculated to indulge his ruling passion*.

Edward the first also, may be enumerated among the old royal hunters of England: as appears from the several items in his Wardrobe book, (for the 28th year of his reign) of the expences incurred on this account. He seems to have been a *Fox hunter* too; but his *pack* would have made but an insignificant figure in the kennels of modern sportsmen;

* Blount's ancient tenures, p- 333.

twelve dogs were the amount of it, and £21. 6s. the annual expence of keeping them*.

So partial indeed were the old English to the amusement of which we are speaking, that they considered it as one of the greatest and most serious employments of their lives, and reduced the sport of hunting to a regular science.—Several treatises were written on this subject for the instruction of the young Nimrod; and numerous rules were laid down for the observation of those, who filled the various offices, in the forest, the kennel, and the stable. One of the most curious performances extant on the subject of *hunting*, is a MS. written in the beginning of the 14th century, in Norman French, by William Twici, grand huntsman to Edward the second. An ancient translation of it into English occurs among the Cottonian MSS. I give the following extract from it†.

It

* Vide liber Quotidianus Contrarst. Garderob. Ann. Reg. Ed. rmi. 28. published by the Antiquarian Society 1787, Whites. 4to.

† MS. Cotton. Bib. Vespasianus. b. 12. See Horda Ang. Cyn. v. III. p. 119. Respecting this treatise Mr. Warton says; "It is, or was lately among the MSS. of Mr. Farmer of Tufmore in Oxfordshire. It is intitled *Le Art de Venerie, le quel maistre Guillame Twici venour le Roy d'angleterre fist en son temps*

It begins thus, for it is a motley composition, partly verse, partly prose :

“ Alle such dysport as voydeth (*prevents*) ydilnesse
 “ It fytteth (*suits*) every gentilman to knowe,
 “ For myrthe anexed is to gentilnesse;
 “ Wherefore among alle other, as I trowe,
 “ To know the crafte of hunting, and to blowe,
 “ As this booke shall witnesse, is ove (*of*) the beste,
 “ For it is holsium, pleasaunt, and honest.”

It then enumerates and describes the different beasts that were objects of the chace in England; and proceeds in the manner of a dialogue, to inform the huntsman how he ought to blow his horn, at the different points of the hunt.

Of BLOWYNG.

“ Question. Syr Hunter, for how many bestis
 “ shall a man blow the *mene*† ?

per aprendre autres. This master William Twici, was grand huntsman to Edward the second. In the Cotton Library this book occurs in English under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, most probably a translation from the French copy, with the title of “ a book of venerie dialogue wise.” Princ. “ Twety now wille we beginne”. Hist. Poet. v. II. p. 221. note (m).

† Mene. A plaintive, or solemn tune, blown at the death. Mene Vet. Ang. Dolere, ingemiscere. Vide Junius in Verb.

“ Answer.

“ Answer. For thre males, and for one fe-
 “ male; that is to say, for an *Hert*,
 “ the *Wolfb male*, and also the *Wolfb*
 “ female, as well as her husband.”

“ Question. How shal ye blowe when ye have
 “ seen the *Hert*?”

“ Answer. I shal blowe after *mote*, two
 “ *motes*; and if myn houndes come not
 “ hastily to me, as I wolde, I shall
 “ blowe four *motes*; and for to hast them
 “ to me, and for to warne the gentelys
 “ (*gentry*) that the *Hert* is sene, then
 “ shall *rechase* on my houndes three
 “ times; and whan he (*the Hert*) is
 “ ferre from me, then shall y *chase* hym
 “ in this manner.—Trout-trout-tro-ro-
 “ rot; trout-trout-tro, ro, rot-trou-ro-
 “ rot; trou-ro-rot.”

“ Question. Syr Hunter why blowe you so?”

“ Answer. For cause that the *Hert* is seen
 “ and y wot nene, (*and I don't know*)
 “ whedir that myn houndis be come fro
 “ myn *meyne*.”

“ Question. And what maner of chace clepe
 “ (*call*) you that?”

“ Answer. We clepe it the *chase* of the
 “ *Forloyne*. I *chace* with my houndis that

“ be hunting - another *chase*, that is
 “ clepid the *perfyzt*; then ye shal begyne
 “ to blowe a long *mote*, and afterwards
 “ two short *motes*, in this manner; trout-
 “ trout; and then trout, tro-ro-rot,
 “ begynnyng with a long *mote*; for every
 “ man that is abowte yow, and can
 “ skylle of venery (*is well skilled in hun-*
 “ *ting*) may knowe in what poynt ye
 “ be in by youre horne. Another chase
 “ there is, whane a man hath set up
 “ archerys, and grey-houndes, and the
 “ beste be founde, and passe out the
 “ boundys, and myne houndes after;
 “ then shal I blowe on this maner, a
 “ *mote*, and afterward the *rechase* upon
 “ houndys, that be passed the boundys;
 “ which be the boundes that we assigned.”

“ Question. Syr Hunter, wole ye sech (*ex-*
 “ *plain*) this chace?”

“ Answer. Ya Syr. If it be a beste in streit
 “ (*trist*), and myn houndes pass out on
 “ the bounds, and if ye wil not that they
 “ chase any longer, I shal blowe a *mote*,
 “ and afterward I shal strake after myn
 “ houndes, for to have them a yen
 “ (*again*); and when the *chevet* is take,
 “ ye shal saye “ howe—harrowe.”

Then

Then follow certain regulations, to be observed when the beasts so hunted should be taken by the hounds. As first of the *Hare*.

- “ And whane the hare is take, and your
 “ houndes have ronne wel to hyr, ye
 “ shal blowe; and afterward ye shal
 “ give to your houndes the *Hallow*, and
 “ that is, the fyde of the shuldres, the
 “ neck, and the hed*; and the loyne
 “ shal to the kechone (*kitchen*).
 “ And whanne the *Hert* is take; ye shal
 “ blowe four *motys*, and it shal be de-
 “ fected as of other bestes; and if your
 “ houndes be bold, and have sleyn the
 “ hert with strength of huntynge, ye shalle
 “ have the skynne; and he that undoeth
 “ hym (*cuts him up*), shal have the
 “ shuldre by law of venerye; and the
 “ houndis shal be rewardid with the
 “ neckke, and with the bowellis, with the
 “ feet; and they shal be etyn under the
 “ skynne; and therefore it is clepid the

* It is amusing to observe the capricious change of taste, and opinions respecting the same things in different ages. What the Roman empire, considered as the *tit-bit*, about an hare, (*the shoulder*) “ *Fœcundi leporis sapiens sectabitur Armos.*” Hor. Our Ancestors threw to the dogs.

- “ *Guarre* ; and th. hed shal be bout
 “ homme to the lord of the skynne ;
 “ the wex, the gargilonne, above the
 “ tail, forched on the right honde. Then
 “ blowe, at the dore of the halle the *pryse*.
 “ Whane the *Buk* is i take (*taken*), ye
 “ shul blowe *pryse* ; and reward the
 “ houndes with the paunche, and the
 “ bowellis.
 “ Whane the *Bore* is i take, he be deffetyd
 “ alvelve (*perhaps, always dissected, or cut*
 “ *up*) ; and he shal have 32 hasceleytys,
 “ and ye shal gif your houndes the bow-
 “ ellis, boyled with bredd, and it is
 “ called *Reward*, for cause that it is etyn
 “ on the earth, and not on the skynne.
 “ When he shal be carried home, the
 “ houndis shal be rewarded with the fete,
 “ and the body shal to the kechyne.
 “ The fesounne of the Fox, begynnyth at
 “ the nativity of our lady, and dureth til
 “ the annunciation ; and the *Hare* is alway
 “ in fesonne to be chafyd.”

But perhaps after all, nothing can prove
 so clearly the partiality of the old English to
 the sport of hunting, and the eagerness with
 which

which it was pursued by every rank of people, from the highest to the lowest; as the number of popular ballads, and traditionary stories on this subject, which have reached our times. By these we find, that the tyrannical severity of the forest laws was insufficient to keep the yeomanry of the kingdom, from the pursuit of a sport which seemed to have a connection with their very existence. Many of them taking advantage of that weakness of the government, and relaxed state of the laws which the feudal system naturally produced; retired into the recesses of the large forests, which at this period covered a considerable part of the kingdom, formed themselves into banditti, and pursued their favorite sport without restraint; levying occasional contributions on such as wandered near their haunts. Of these sylvan plunderers none make so brilliant a figure in tradition, as the famed Robin Hood, and the faithful *Little John*. Their deeds are related in the simple measures of numberless old songs, which still continue to be the favorite ditties of the vulgar; a proof that *hunting*, the *burthen* of them all, is a subject deeply interesting to the human heart.

In

In these old compositions though generally they are rather prosaic, yet now and then a few stanzas occur, highly descriptive, and painting in lively colours the manners of past times: these however, I do not trouble the reader with, as the poems which contain them, are in the hands of every one.

The following verses written by Chaucer, are not perhaps so well known. I never read them over, without applying them in my own mind, to the person of the celebrated Robin Hood: and though they were not meant to characterize him; yet as they give us the habit and appearance of a forester of the fourteenth century, are minutely descriptive; and somewhat picturesque, I insert them without hesitation.

“ And he was cladde in cote and hode of grene;
 “ A shefe of peacock arwes* bright, and kene
 “ Under his belt he bare ful thritily;
 “ Wel coulde he dresse his takel yemenly;
 “ His arwes droupid not with fetheres lowe,
 “ And in his hand he bare a mighty bowe.

* The peacock's feathers seem to have been generally made use of for feathering arrows. Wart. Eng. Poet. v. I. p. 451. note (1).

“ A not-hed* hadde he, with a broune vifage;
 “ Of woode-crafte† coulde he wel alle the ufage;
 “ Upon his arme he bare a gaie bracer‡,
 “ And by his fide a fwerd and a bokeler;
 “ And on that other fide a gaie daggere,
 “ Harneifed wel, and fharpe as point of fpeare;
 “ A Cristofre§ on his brest of filver fhene;
 “ An horn he bare the baudrie|| was of grene.
 “ A *forfter* was he fotheley as I guefs¶.

Among the dogs which attended the old English to the chace, none feem to have been fo highly prized as *Grey-bounds*. They were indeed the favorite fpecies of the middle ages‡. When a nobleman travelled, he never went

* His hair clofely trimmed; fo that his head appeared round like a nut.

† Woode-crafte. The wiles of hunting.

‡ Bracer. Armour for the arms. Roger Afcham, gives us the following ufes of them. “ A bracer ferveth for two caufes; one to fave his arme, from the ftrype of the ftringe, and his doublet from wearing. And the other is, that the ftringe gliding fharpelye, and quicklye off the bracer, may make the fharper fhoot.”

§ St. Christopher prefided over the weather, and was the patron of field fports.

|| The ftrap by which it was fufpended. See Junius in voc. Bawdreck.

¶ Prologue to Cant. Tales.

‡ See Warton, v. I. p. 363.

without

without these dogs* ; the hawk he bore upon his fist, and the grey-hounds which ran before him, were certain testimonies of his rank ; and in the ancient pipe rolls, payments appear to have been often made in these valuable animals†. He was chiefly useful, in the pursuits of the hart, stag, and roe-buck.

In the ancient MS. cited above‡, the following notices of other dogs occur.

Of Raches or Houndes.

“ First, the *running boundes*, the same with
 “ those to chace the hares, &c.—The *grey-*
 “ *boundes*—the *alauntes*, or bull-dogs (these
 “ were chiefly for hunting the *boar*). The
 “ *spaniel*§ was a hound for *hawking*, his craft
 “ is, for the perdrich and the *quayle*.—The

* Annexed is the representation of a nobleman in Queen Elizabeth's time, with his hawk, hounds, and attendants ; taken from Turberville's Booke of Falconrie ; imprinted at London for Christofer Barker, &c. 1575.

† Rot. Pip. An. 4 Johan. A. D. 1203. and several other instances in Wart. Hist. Eng. Poet. v. I. p. 363. note (p).

‡ MS. Bib. Reg. 18. c. xviii.

§ In Turberville's " Booke of Falconrie" mentioned above, there is a long account of the spaniel, the uses to which he was applied ; modes of cure when he was disordered or injured, &c. p. 362.

“ mastiff

“ mastiff is also a good hounde, for hunting
 “ of the wild *boare*.”

But the following descriptive lines from
 Shakespear, mark the species of dog most es-
 teemed in this country in the sixteenth century.

“ My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
 “ So flewed, so fanded, and their heads are hung
 “ With ears, that sweep away the morning dew;
 “ Crook-kneed, and dew-lap'd, like Theffalian bulls:
 “ Slow in pursuit; but match'd in mouth like bells,
 “ Each under each.”

This dog seems to have been the old Eng-
 lish blood-hound; a breed, which though it
 still subsists, has lost by intermixture with
 plebeian blood, those strongly-defined charac-
 teristic features described in the above lines.
 Notwithstanding, towards the latter end of the
 last century, it was mentioned as an admirable
 hound by the Chevalier Du Fresne*.

I close this account of ancient hunting, with
 a few observations on the animals which af-

* Angli habent canes bellicosos, oculis lippis, et detortis,
 labris et malis adeo sordidis et dependentibus, ut advenis mera
 monstra videantur. Et quanto deformiores, eo meliores æsti-
 mandi: nam etsi et labra plurimum propendeant, eo certius
 odorem quasi sorbent, et clariorem ululatum faventis vestigationis
 testem adeunt, &c. v. l. p. 744.

forded amusement to our forefathers in the chace.

That the wild-boar was a *constant* object of sport with the Saxons, and *occasionally* with the Anglo-Normans and old English, is not I believe denied by any one: but it seems to be a matter of doubt with some, whether the *wolf* continued to be hunted in this country, after the reign of *Edgar* the Anglo-Saxon. Hume, citing William of Malmfbury as his authority, asserts, that this æra was marked by the extirpation of wolves from England*. Our ingenious historian however, seems to have considered the passage in Malmfbury rather too hastily. The monk does not say that Edgar *actually destroyed* the breed of wolves throughout his kingdoms; but that he *intended*, or *thought* to have done it†: and in pursuance of this determination, he imposed a tribute on

* Hume's Hist. Eng. 8vo. Edit. v. I. p. 133.

† Quomodo enim ausus hominum preteriret, qui etiam omnis generis feras sanguinis avidas ex Regno exterminare cogitaret, Ludwaloque Regi Wallensium edictum imposuerit, ut sibi quotannis tributum trecentorum luporum pensitaret, quod cum tribus annis fecisset, quarto destitit, nullum se ulterius posse invenire professus Will. Malm. de Gest. Ang. apud Savill. Scrip. fol. 32. b. l. 40.

Lludwallo king of Wales, of three hundred heads of wolves, to be paid to him yearly; which tribute having been sent for *three* years, was dropped on the *fourth*; Lludwallo declaring he could not find any more wolves within his realm. But surely we have no right to infer from this passage, that the breed was extinguished as well in England, as in Wales. Indeed, there are documents remaining to the present day, which entirely contradict a supposition of this nature; and convince us that the *wolf* was hunted in this country, so lately as the fourteenth century*.

They are expressly mentioned as beasts of venery in the laws of king Henry Ist†; and among those who formerly held by that mode of tenure called *Petit serjeanty*, it was very customary to perform the service of hunting and destroying the wolves, in different parts of the kingdom‡.

* In the 15th century the wolf was so common in Scotland, that the legislature, for the purpose of destroying the breed, enjoined every baron to hunt this animal *four* times during the year. And the sheriffs of different counties, were obliged to have public wolf-huntings *three* times within the year. Black. Acts James I. c. 115. James II. c. 98.

† Leges Hen. I. cap. 90. in Lambarde's Archæolog. p. 212.

‡ Blount's Anc. Ten. p. 140. et infra.

But

But the following citation from Twici's treatise on the craft of Hunting, will not only confirm the assertion made above, of wolves being hunted in England so late as the fourteenth century; but give us some information respecting other beasts which our forefathers pursued*.

- “ And for to sette yonge hunterys in the way
 “ To venery, I cast me fyrst to go;
 “ Of wheche 4 bestes be, that is to say,
 “ The *Hare*, the *Herte*, the *Wulfbe*, the *Wild Boor*
 “ And there ben other bestes, 5 of the chace,
 “ The *Buk* the first, the *Do* the seconde,
 “ The *Fox* the thyrde, whiche oft hath hard grace;
 “ The ferthe the *Martyn†*, and the last the *Roo*.
 “ And thre other bestis beene of great dysport,
 “ The *Grey†* is one thereof, with his slepy pace;
 “ The *Cat§* another, the *Otre* (*otter*) one also.”

Of this list, which I believe enumerates all the animals that have ever been hunted in Eng-

* To the above proofs, I add the following; in Rymer's *Fœdera*, v. II. p. 168. is a commission granted by Edward I. A. D. 1281. to Peter Corbet to hunt and destroy all the wolves he could discover in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford.

† The ferthe and martin are different species of the same genus.

‡ Badger.

† The pole-cat—or perhaps the wild-cat.

land

land; we have the hare, buck, doe, fox, martin, badger, pole and wild cats, remaining. The wolf, wild boar, and roe-buck, have long since disappeared.

The particular periods when the two former became extinct in this country, I cannot ascertain. The history and fall of the roe-buck are better known. He continued to be an inhabitant of England, till within this half century; and was not infrequently met with on the wastes, a small distance from Hexham in Northumberland. As the breed however, became gradually more scarce, it was sought for with greater eagerness; so that after enduring the united attacks of the dog and gun for a few seasons, it at length dwindled into one solitary animal, which about forty years since, is said to have been destroyed by ——— Whitfield Esquire of Whitfield in Northumberland*.

* Percy's Rel. Ancient Eng. Poet. v. I. p. 24. note.

C H A P. IV.

New-Forest. Monkish Accounts of its Formation considered. Domesday Survey of it. General Conclusions. Forest Law, &c.

MR. Lambarde in his topographical dictionary, describes New-forest in the following terms. “ A large portion of Hampshire, which, after the opinion of the most, and best approved historians, William the Conqueror layed to forest, *destroyinge townes, villages, and churches*, thirty miles longe*.” This is an abridgment of the *first* monkish accounts of the formation of New-forest; accounts, followed implicitly by every annalist†, and writer of English history, from the conclusion of the eleventh century, to the beginning of the present. At this æra, Voltaire,

* Lambarde's Dictionary in voc. New-forest.

† Knyghton and some others, ascribe the formation of New-forest to Rufus; but they all agree in the fact of the destructive tyranny exerted on the occasion.

accustomed to think for himself, saw a degree of improbability in these monastic details, which led him to doubt the fact of William's devastation* ; and another elegant writer, since that period, has expressed himself, as inclined to withhold his belief also, from the story†.

The subject indeed, only requires some degree of attention to convince us, that this picture of the Conqueror's tyranny is egregiously overcharged ; and, that though he certainly, either enlarged the limits of an ancient forest, by adding a considerable tract of land to its former dimensions ; or formed a new one altogether, by the exertion of that right of afforesting lands possessed by the Saxon monarchs ; yet, that the *act* was not attended with those circumstances of outrage, and violation, which the monkish writers have so minutely detailed.

To prove this, I purpose to employ a part of the following chapter, in a careful investigation of this questionable point of English

* Abrégé de l'Histoire Universelle, tom. I. p. 279.

† Dr. Warton on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. I. p. 22.

history; and shall first consider the several accounts of the transaction, as given by our early historians; secondly, adduce the incontrovertible evidence of Domesday-book on the subject; and thirdly, urge a few observations, suggested by the present appearance of New-forest: all which taken together, will, I doubt not, amount to a demonstration, that the vulgar opinion on this subject is entirely erroneous.

With respect however, to the early monkish writers, who first raised the yell of sacrilege against the conqueror for this afforestation, it may be observed, that if we be unwilling to admit their evidence, in matters wherein themselves were interested, implicitly, and without *some* hesitation; that degree of caution should be *doubled* in the *present* instance; since these ecclesiastics, the only biographers of William, were his bitterest and most rancorous foes. Exasperated by injuries and contumely, which his power prevented them from revenging; they seized the means of retaliation to which impotence and little minds too frequently have recourse, and took every method to traduce his name, and blast his memory: magnifying each small deviation

from propriety, into enormous wickedness; each trifling exertion of prerogative, into unbounded tyranny; and when real sources of abuse failed them, inventing excesses which never occurred, and evils that never had a being*.

But to proceed upon the proposed investigation: it is a matter of extreme surprise, that the author of the latter part of the Saxon chronicle, who was indisputably a contemporary of William the Conqueror†, and who seems to have viewed his vices with a severe eye; it is remarkable, I say, that this writer should not take the least notice of the afforestation of the southern part of Hampshire, nor the cruelties said to have been inflicted by William

* To say the truth, they had some reason to dislike him; see Matthew Par. p. 7. Anglia Sac. v. I. p. 248. Brady's Hist. v. I. p. 212.

† The Saxon Chronicle was not the work of one individual; but compiled by several hands at different times. See Gibson's Preface. That the person who described the actions of William's life, was his contemporary, appears from the following passage. "Si cui libet cognoscere qualis vir fuit, siue quantis honoribus afficiebatur, siue quot terrarum fuit dominus, volumus nos eum describere, quatenus scimus, qui eum vidimus, et nonnunquam in ejus curia fuimus." Sub. An. 1086.

on its inhabitants, in consequence of it. Every other memorable event of this reign he particularly relates; the total devastation of Northumberland; the compilation of Domesday-book; the universal, and formal introduction of the feudal system into the kingdom; and the fearful famine and pestilence, which other monkish writers have converted into an infliction from above, as the punishment of William's supposed act of tyranny*. These are all circumstantially mentioned, but not a hint occurs relative to the formation of New-forest†. Nay what is still more singular; he paints the Conqueror's passion for the chase in the warmest colours; condemns it with the greatest severity; lamenting the excesses which the indulgence of it led him to commit; in the enumeration of which, he would most assuredly have included the remarkable one of the devas-

* Vide Chron. Sax. p. 186. 187. 188.

† Unless indeed the following words be supposed to advert to it. *Experti sunt incolæ duos dolores hoc anno; et Rex permisit devastari terras maritimas, ut, si inimici ejus (in terram) ascenderent, iis non esset in promptu com meatus.* 186. 14. A passage which seems to have given John Ross the idea of William's forming New-forest from motives of policy. Vide infra.

tation in Hampshire, if the circumstance had ever reached his knowledge*.

What then are we to infer, from the silence of this accurate and impartial writer? The obvious answer is, either, that the fact never took place; or, that the afforestation was made with so little injury to the subject, and so little disturbance of the public peace, that it passed off unnoticed, and almost unknown. We are forbidden to form the first conclusion, from evidence that cannot be controverted; but the latter, seems to have both reason and probability on its side.

Gulielmus Gemeticensis, who perhaps is the first author in point of time, that mentions the formation of New-forest, speaks of the supposed devastation in *general* terms; giving even this slight account of it, in the questionable form of a *report*, which, he says, was then in circulation—"Many *report*, says he, that

* Ita vero multum amavit feras majores, ac si fuisset eorum pater, is the emphatic mode of expression, used by the Saxon annalist; an expression however which loses much of its energy by a Latin translation.

“ these

“ these two sons* of King William, perished
 “ in the wood, by the judgment of Heaven;
 “ *because*, for the purpose of enlarging it, he
 “ had destroyed many villages, and churches,
 “ within its limits†.”

The tale, however, from being a mere *fly-
 ing report*, having once gotten into the hands
 of *monks*, soon became a matter of *record*; and
 Florence Wigorn, who wrote about, or im-
 mediately after, the time of Gulielmus Geme-
 ticensis, delivers it as a point of authentic
 history, in the following amplified and ex-
 aggerated terms. “ The King (meaning
Rufus) “ whilst he was pursuing the chace,
 “ in New-forest, which in the English
 “ tongue is called Ytene, lost his life. Nor
 “ is the circumstance to be wondered at, for

* Ricardus frater ipsius Wilhelmi dudum adhuc vivente patre
 eorum dum simili modo venaretur, ictu arboris male evitati
 ægrotans, post paululum hominem exivit. Wilhel. Gemet. de
 duc. Norman. apud Cam. Scrip. p. 674. l. 10. c. 9.

† Ferunt autem multi quod ides hi duo filii Wilhelmi Regis
 in illa Sylva iudicio Dei perierunt, quoniam multas villas et ec-
 clesias propter eandem forestam amplificandam in circuitu ipsius
 destruxerat. Idem. This writer was chaplain to the Conqueror,
 to whom he dedicated his work de Ducibus Normannorum. He
 died ann. 1135. Vide Camdeni Præf.

“ popular

“ popular rumour asserted it was an instance
 “ of divine vengeance ; since in ancient times,
 “ to wit, in the reigns of Edward the Con-
 “ fessor, and his royal predecessors, this district
 “ was in a fertile, and cultivated state,
 “ abounding with inhabitants, husbandmen,
 “ and churches, but by the order of King
 “ William the elder, the inhabitants were
 “ dispersed, the dwellings pulled down, the
 “ churches destroyed, and the land conver-
 “ ted into an habitation for wild beasts. This
 “ desolation is believed to have been the occa-
 “ sion of the King's misfortune*” (*Rufus's*
 “ *death*).

Walter Mapes, about the same time, endea-
 vours to give a greater air of probability to the
 story, by specifying the *number* of mother

* Rex cum in Novâ Foresta, quæ lingua Anglorum *Ytene*
 nuncupatur, venatu esset occupatus, vitam finivit. Nec mirum
 ut populi Rumor affirmat hanc proculdubio magnam Dei esse
 virtutem et vindictam. Antiquis enim temporibus, Edwardi
 scil. Regis et aliorum Angliæ Regum predecessorum ejus, eadem
 Regio, incolis Dei cultoribus et ecclesiis nitebat uberrime sed jussu
 Regis Gulielmi senioris hominibus fugatis, domibus semirutis,
 ecclesiis destructis, terra ferarum tantum colebatur habitatione, et
 inde creditur causa fuit infortunii. Flor. Wig. p. 469. He died
 in the reign of Henry Ist.

churches,

churches, which William sacrilegiously destroyed on the occasion. “ He (William) “ took
 “ a tract of land, from God and man ; that
 “ he might dedicate it to the reception of
 “ wild beasts, and the purposes of hunting :
 “ in which district he destroyed thirty-six
 “ mother churches, and exterminated all its
 “ inhabitants*.”

Simeon Dunelmensis transcribes verbatim, the account of this transaction, from Florence of Worcester†.

William of Malmfbury, (in general an enlightened and impartial writer), adopting, in this instance, the quarrel, and prejudices of his brother ecclesiastics, tells us ; “ that Richard
 “ Curtoise, a son of the Conqueror, ended his
 “ days, by a pestilential blast which crossed
 “ him, while hunting in *New-forest* : a place
 “ which his father William had made the

* Terram Deo et hominibus abstulit, ut eam dicaret feris et canum lustris, a qua 36 matrices ecclesias extirpavit, et populum eorum dedit exterminio. Gualterus Mapes apud Britan. Camdeni in Hant. He flourished in the reign of Henry Ist. Vide Leland de Scrip. Britan. 187. c. 157.

† Simeon Dunelmensis apud Twisdeni Scrip. v. I. p. 225. This writer flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. Vide Selden's Preface in Dec. Scrip. and Leland's Scrip. p. 188.

“ receptacle

“ receptacle of wild beasts ; having torn down
 “ the churches, and desolated the villages,
 “ for the space of thirty miles and more*.”

Henry of Huntingdon, in summing up the character of William, throws into the scale of his tyrannical actions, the formation of New-forest. “ He loved wild beasts, says he, “ adopting the words of the Saxon chronicler), “ as if he had been their father : and to indulge this passion, in those hunting woods “ which are called New-forest, he caused the “ churches and habitations to be desolated, “ and the country people to be exterminated, “ that these animals might range therein at “ large†.”

* Tradunt cervos in Nova Foresta (Ricardum) terebrantem, tabidi æris nebula, incurrisse. Locus est quem Willielmus pater, desertis villis, subrutis ecclesiis, per triginta et eo amplius miliaria in saltus et lustra ferarum redegerat, &c. Wil. Malmf. lib. 2. fol. 62. (b) apud Saville Scrip. This writer flourished during the reigns of Hen. Ist, Stephen and Hen. IId. Vide Leland's Scrip. p. 196. c. 166.

† Amavit autem feras, tanquam pater esset earum; unde in silvis venationum, quæ vocantur Nove-Forest, ecclesias et villas eradicari, gentem extirpari, et a feris fecit inhabitari. Hen. Hunt. apud Saville Scrip. fol. 212. (b). He flourished about the reign of Stephen and Hen. IId.

Brompton's

Brompton's account is couched in terms nearly similar to the above; and followed by much severe, and envenomed abuse of the Conqueror, and his countrymen*.

Roger Hovedon, in his annals, relating the manner of Rufus's death, introduces the story of the formation of New-forest, by William, with all the circumstances of tyrannical oppression, detailed by Florence of Worcester: and considers the destruction of Rufus, as an instance of almighty vengeance†.

Walter Hemingford, speaking of Rufus, says
 “ that in the time of his father, all the churches
 “ of this district, together with the district

* *Feras namque tanquam pater earum erat amavit, unde in sylva venationis, quæ nunc Nova Foresta vocatur, villas et ecclesias plures eradicari, gentem extirpari, et a feris inhabitari fecit. Apud Decem Scrip. p. 981. l. 25. Chron. John Brompton. And again. Ad Novam regiam Forestam, Anglia Ychene dictam; quam pater suus Willielmus Bastardus hominibus fugatis, desertis villis, et subreptis ecclesiis per 30 et eo amplius milliaria in saltus, et lustra ferarum redegerat 996. 15. This author wrote his annals in the reign of Edward III. Vide Pref. in Dec. Scrip. This account should be inserted after that of Hemingford. Brompton did not write till a century after Walter Hem.*

† Vide *Rog. de Hov. Annal.* fol. 268. (a). This writer flourished in the reign of Hen. II. Leland 239.

“ itself,

“ itself, were reduced to desolation, and a
 “ royal forest made on the spot*.”

Henry Knyghton mentions the formation of New-forest twice, ascribing it, first, to William the Conqueror†, and afterwards, to his son, Rufus, in the following terms.
 “ This William made a number of forests
 “ in the heart of his kingdom, and between
 “ Southampton and the priory of Twynham,
 “ which is now called Christes-chirche, he
 “ threw down, and destroyed, twenty-two
 “ mother churches, (though according to
 “ some, he destroyed fifty-two parish churches)
 “ and converted the spot they had occupied,
 “ into a *New-forest*, which he called his
 “ *New Herbary*. This he filled with deer,
 “ stags, and other wild beasts, which he re-
 “ frained from hunting, for seven years, for
 “ the sake of future sport‡.”

Thomas

* Tempore patris sui omnes ecclesiæ cum tota illa patria in solitudinem sunt redactæ, et fiebat ibidem Regia Foresta. Walt. Heming. p. 460. Edit. Gale. This writer flourished about the reign of Henry III. See Leland 305.

† Apud Novam Forestam in Hamtuniensi provincia ad spacium triginta milliarius villas et ecclesias eradicans feras instituit, apud Dec. Scrip. p. 2354. tom. 2.

‡ Hic Willielmus (secundus) fecit forestas in multis locis, per medium Regni, et inter Southamptonam et prioratum de Twynham qui

Thomas Rudborne; on the authority, I presume of the Saxon chronicle tells us, William entertained “ a furious passion for
 “ beasts of the chace.—On this account (says
 “ he) it is asserted, the whole country for
 “ thirty miles, was despoiled of human habi-
 “ tations, churches, cemeteries, gardens,
 “ and all appearance of cultivation, by the
 “ order of the king, and reduced into a forest.
 “ Which tract, is to this day, called New-
 “ forest*.”

John Roffe, also, the Warwick antiquary, has blindly followed the story of this merciless

qui nunc vocatur Crystis chyrke prostravit et exterminavit viginti
 duas ecclesias matrices cum villis, capellis, et maneriis atque
 mansionibus; secundum vero quosdam 52 ecclesias parochiales; et
 fecit de illo loco Forestam novam quam vocavit suum novum her-
 barium et replevit eam cervis, damis et aliis feris, parcens illi
 per 7 annos primos venatus gratia. Hen. de Knyghton de Event.
 Angliæ. l. 2. c. 7. apud Twissdeni Scrip. tom. 2. p. 2373. lin. 38.
 This writer flourished under Richard II. See Selden's Pref.

* Erat Rex Willielmus Bastardus amator ferarum. Amabat
 enim Rex ferus feras, ac si esset pater ferarum, humanam post-
 ponens charitatem. Unde asseritur quod per triginta et amplius
 milliaria, ubi erat hominum mansio, terra cultura fructifera nec
 non frugifera, extirpatis domibus cum pomœriis et hortis, et
 etiam ecclesiis cum cœmeteriis, in Forestam vel potius in desertam,
 et ferarum lustra Rege jubente sit redacta. Hist. Major Wint.
 apud Anglia Sac. p. 258. v. I. Thomas Rudborne flourished in
 the fifteenth century. Leland de Scrip.

affores-

afforestation; which however, he ascribes to a motive of policy in William: namely, that he might have an opportunity of spending a considerable portion of his time, in a spot contiguous to his Norman dominions; in case any convulsions in that country, without its prince, and robbed of its nobility, should suddenly demand his presence there†.

Such are the several accounts of our ancient historians, respecting the formation of *New-forest*; which I have arranged in chronological order, that the reader may readily distinguish, the earlier, from the more recent ones, and estimate with greater ease, the degree of credit due to each*.

On

† Willielmus conquestor considerans periculosum fore Normanniam sine magnæ nobilitatis capite diu persistere; ea igitur intentione ipsam partem Angliæ forestavit, sive forestam fecit, videlicet circiter ad triginta miliaria in longitudine juxta litus maris australis versus Normanniam, ut ipse et sui hæredes pro delectatione venandi in illis partibus libentius moram traherent, et si casus requireret in Normanniam citius manu armata pervenirent contra hostes dimicaturi. *Rosse War.* p. 113. This writer died the 14th January 1491.

* I have a note in my common place book, which says, "Ordericus Vitalis," an early Norman writer, attributes the formation of New-forest to William the first, "who destroyed
" more

On considering them, he will doubtless observe, in the first place, that no particular æra is marked, by any one of these authors, at which this afforestation was made—a very extraordinary instance of omission in writers, whose chief merit is an accuracy in arranging events under the years when they respectively happened. Surely so obnoxious an exertion of power, attended with so many circumstances of tyrannous oppression; involving so large a tract of country in desolation, such numbers of people in utter distress, and giving so violent a shock to the opinions of the age, by throwing down, without ceremony, the walls of six and thirty mother churches; must have been pretty generally known, and as universally execrated. Can we suppose then, that writers who were on the watch for opportunities of loading William with reproach, would not instantly have seized so striking an instance of his unfeeling tyranny: and minuted down with the nicest accuracy, every circum-

“ more than sixty parish churches in the afforestation, driving out the inhabitants,” &c. Not having Ordericus by me, I cannot quote the passage, but I think proper to mention it, as it affords an additional proof of the improbability, and discordance, of monkish accounts.

stance of time, place, and manner attending it; since they must have been sensible, that these *minutiæ* are what stamp every recorded fact, with the appearance of authenticity? The desecration of so many churches, would have been a noble theme for monkish declamation to dwell on; and we may rest assured, these ecclesiastics would have detailed every sacrilegious circumstance with malignant particularity. They would questionless, have made it their business to enquire into the number, state, situation, and so forth, of these devoted edifices, and handed them down to posterity, with malicious pleasure. Instead however, of these distinct notices, which we might thus naturally expect, we have nothing but general, confused, and discordant accounts. The two earliest writers, neither specify the period of the afforestation, nor the number of churches destroyed. Walter Mapes is equally silent as to the former particular, and delivers an improbable account respecting the latter: whilst Knyghton gives the formation of New-forest, both to William, and his son Rufus; doubting whether the churches destroyed on the occasion, might be estimated at twenty-two, (fourteen less than Mapes's number) or at two and fifty!

These

These circumstances, we must needs confess, depreciate considerably the credit of the monkish authors, with respect to this transaction; and render it necessary for us to consult more authentic documents, ere we form a decided opinion, in a matter of such apparent uncertainty. Fortunately, Domesday-book remains, to give us the satisfaction we desire; an evidence which cannot be gainsaid, as it was an accurate survey of the whole kingdom, made during the latter part of the Conqueror's reign, considerably after the southern part of Hampshire had been afforested. By this survey it appears, that William had, at a period prior to its compilation, thrown a large tract of land, in the south-western corner of the county into forest. One hundred and eight places, manors, hamlets, or villages, are mentioned as being in part, or entirely comprehended within this district. These were situated, in the several hundreds of Fordingbridge, Rincevede, Rodbridge, Bovre, Rodedic, Egheiete, Truham, and Sirlei*, embracing an extent

* It is an extremely difficult, if not impossible matter, to ascertain the exact limits and situations of these ancient Hundreds;

extent of land, nearly ninety miles in circumference, bounded by the sea on the south, the river Avon on the west, Southampton

public boundaries, and private property, having undergone various alterations, particularly in *names*, since the compilation of Domesday-Book. Of these eight Hundreds, the three first are alone remaining. They are at present known by the names of Fordingbridge, Ringwood, and Redbridge Hundred. Rodedic Hundred occupied the south-eastern part of the present Christchurch Hundred; comprehending Milton, Arnwood, Hordle, Bile, and Baishley; Wootton, Ashley, and some other places, of which one cannot define the situation, as no names of the kind, are at present to be met with. It should seem that this Hundred comprehended also Bistern, Crow, and Minstead; for these manors are minuted down under Rodedic Hundred; but their extreme distance from the other spot mentioned above, inclines one to think the scribe must have been guilty of some mistake, and given them to the wrong Hundred. The inaccuracy of the survey, in this respect, is indeed very obvious; since in the following tables, frequent instances will occur of the same villages and hamlets, being placed under different Hundreds. Bovre was a very extensive Hundred, stretching to the north as far as Lyndhurst; to the west to Hinton, and to the east to Baddesley; all which places it included. Egheiete Hundred was a long strip, running in a northern direction, and occupying part of the present Christchurch Hundred. It took in Christchurch, Hubbern, and Holdenhurst. Truham occupied the eastern part of Christchurch Hundred—including Battramsley, Sandy-down, Pilley, Brookley, and Hinchelfey. Sirlei Hundred, was situated in the north; and north-western parts of the same district; Iver, Ripley, Winckton, and Sopley, lying within it.

river

river on the east, and the bordering manors and townships of Wilts on the north.

That we may be able to form a correct estimate, of the quantum of injury which William *really* occasioned to the population, and agriculture, of this part of England, by the formation of New-forest; I have subjoined a table, the particulars of which are extracted from Domesday-book, containing the assessment, and valuation of all the manors, in any degree affected by this transaction, both during the reign of Edward the Confessor, and at the period of the Domesday survey; an æra subsequent to the afforestation. The statement will be followed by a few remarks which it naturally suggests*.

* I confess myself obliged to that great and useful work, Mr. Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, for the *idea* of this table: though the learned editor will perceive, I differ from him, both in the mode of arranging the particulars comprised in it, and in certain other trifling circumstances.

	Before the Survey;					At the Survey.				
	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
RODBRIDGE Hundred.										
Staneude (<i>Stanfwood</i>) - -	2	-	-	10	d	1	-	-	7	-
*Edlinges (<i>Eling</i>) - -	-	-	-	38	8 4	-	-	-	20†	-
EGHEIETE Hundred.										
‡Thuinam (<i>Christ-church</i>)	-	1	-	19	-	-	1	-	10	-
Holceft (<i>Holdenburft</i>) - -	29	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	44	-	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	24	-
RINCEVEDE Hundred.										
Rincevede (<i>Ringwood</i>) -	28	-	-	24	-	6	-	-	8	10
Carried up	59	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	135	8 4	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	69	10

* In the survey of *Eling*, is the following minute. "In foresta sunt occupatæ 16 manfuræ villanorum, et 3 bordariorum"—a fact that directly contradicts the monkish accounts of the *depopulation* of this tract. Indeed it is not necessary for a forest, notwithstanding all its privileges, to be *dispeopled*: neither was it ever the case; the forest laws in their first terrible form, and after they were modified and relaxed, being modelled for the regulation and punishment, rather of those who lived *within* the limits of these scenes of royal diversion, than for such as dwelt *without* them.

† Notwithstanding this manor was assessed at no more than £20. yet it had increased *two thirds* in value since Edward's time; for the survey expressly says, that it paid to the lord £52. 6s. 1d. Hence it appears that the estates were not assessed according to their *rack rents*.

‡ Only the woods of this manor were thrown into forest. "Sylva est in foresta Regis."

Before the Survey;

At the Survey.

	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought up	59	1½	-	135	8 4	25½	1½	-	69	10
BOVERE Hundred.										
Linhest (<i>Lindburst</i>) - -	2	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	10
FORDINGBRIDGE Hundred.										
Stacham (qy) - - - -	½	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
Bedecote (qy) - - - -	½	-	-	-	20	-	-	11½	-	-
In the same Hundred.										
The King holds a manor	-	1	-	-	7 6 d	-	-	1½	-	-
Brumore (<i>Breamore</i>) - -	2½	-	-	-	51 8	-	-	-	-	-
Brumore (<i>Breamore</i>); Roche- borne (<i>Rockborne</i>); Brestone (qy); Borgate (Burgate); in these manors were lands, now afforested, worth - - - -	-	-	-	13	10	-	-	-	-	-
*Borgate (Burgate) the woods of this manor, and a pasture, now afforested, were worth - - - -	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
RODBRIDGE Hundred.										
Falegia (<i>Fawley</i>) - - -	2	-	-	-	60	-	1	-	-	15
BOVERE Hundred.										
Sucia (<i>Sway</i>) - - - -	1	-	-	-	20	-	3	-	-	20
Andret (qy) - - - -	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carried over	67½	2½	8	154	212	25½	6½	13	69	55

* Sylva hujus manerii est in foresta Regis.

	Before the Survey;					At the Survey.				
	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought over	67½	2½	8	154	212	25½	6½	13	69	55
SIRLEI Hundred.										
*Aver (Iver) - - - -	8	-	-	10	-	3½	-	-	8	-
FORDINGBRIDGE Hundred.										
†Rocheford (<i>Rockford</i>) -	2	-	-	-	60	2	-	-	-	30
Tibeslei (Ibbesly or Ipsley)	4	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	60
SIRLEI Hundred.										
‡Riple (<i>Ripley</i>). The woods of this manor in forest, worth - - - -	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	15
FORDINGBRIDGE Hundred.										
§Forde (<i>Fordingbridge</i>) -	2	3	-	-	60	2	-	-	-	30
SIRLEI Hundred.										
Weringetone (<i>Winckton</i>)	7	-	-	10	-	3	1	-	4	10
¶Sopelie (<i>Sopley</i>) - - -	7	-	-	10	-	1	½	-	-	40
Carried up	97½	5½	8	188	352	39	8	13	81	240

* “ Totum nemus hujus manerii est in foresta Regis.”

† “ Sylva est in foresta Regis.”

‡ “ Sylva est in foresta Regis.”

§ In foresta Regis totum nemus, quod valet 20 solidos. What rendered the woods so valuable was the pannage, or liberty of feeding hogs in them; a privilege, purchased by the tenants of the lord of the fee, for which they paid an annual rent.

|| “ De isto manerio habet Rex in foresta sua, totam sylvam.”

¶ De isto manerio habet Rex 4 hidas, in foresta sua, et totum nemus.

FORDINGBRIDGE

Before the Survey;

At the Survey.

	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought up	97½	5½	8	188	352	39	8	13	81	240
FORDINGBRIDGE Hundred.										
*Adelingham (<i>Ellingham</i>)	5½	-	-	7	-	1½	-	-	-	70
SIRLEI Hundred.										
†Riple (<i>Ripley</i>) - - -	5	-	-	8	-	2	-	-	-	5
FORDINGBRIDGE Hundred.										
Gerlei (<i>Gorely</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	20	½	-	-	-	7
RODEDIC Hundred.										
‡Mideltune (<i>Milton</i>) - -	1½	-	-	-	40	1	-	-	-	20
Ernemude (<i>Arnwood</i>) -	1	1	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	30
FORDINGBRIDGE Hundred.										
Cantortune (<i>Canterton</i>) -	-	½	-	-	20	-	¼	-	-	20
In NEW FOREST and its Environs.										
RODBRIDGE Hundred.										
Achelei (<i>Ashley-north</i>) -	1	-	-	-	50					
Falalie (<i>Fawley</i>) - - -	1	3	-	-	50					
Carried over	113½	10	8	203	562	44	8¼	13	81	392

* "De isto manerio est una hida in foresta Regis, et tantum *silva*."† "De isto manerio sunt 3 hidæ in foresta Regis, et totum *nemus*."

‡ Sylvam hujus manerii habet Rex in foresta.

BOVRE

Before the Survey;

At the Survey.

	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought over	113 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	8	203	562	44	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	13	81	392
BOVRE Hundred.										
Traham (qy) - - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
Schive (qy) - - - -	3	-	-	10	-	-	-	8	-	-
Lesteoude (qy. <i>Testwood</i>)	1	-	-	-	40	-	$\frac{1}{4}$	-	-	3
Suei (Sway) - - - -	1	-	-	-	9	-	3	-	-	9
Ditto - - - - -	1	-	-	-	20	-	1	-	-	5
Bedeslei (<i>Baddesly</i>) - -	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Ofelei (<i>Offamsly</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	40	-	-	1	-	-
BOVERE Hundred.										
Offelei (<i>Offamsly</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	20	-	-	2	-	-
Trucham (qy) - - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
*Wolnetune (<i>Walhampton</i>)	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	15	-	1	-	-	10
†Lentune (<i>Lymington</i>) -	1	-	-	-	20	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	15
Hentune (<i>Hinton</i>) - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	15	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	15
Effelie (<i>Ashley</i>) - - -	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	50	-	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	20
Bermintune (<i>Bockampton</i>)	-	7	-	-	40	-	5	-	-	20
Ditto - - - - -	1	-	-	-	20	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	10
Hentune (<i>Hinton</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	15	-	3	-	-	15
Bichelie (<i>Beckley</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	20	-	3	-	-	15
Fernehelle (<i>Fernhill</i>) - -	-	3	-	-	13	-	1	-	-	10
RODEDIC Hundred.										
One Manor - - - - -	2	-	-	-	60	-	5	-	-	30
†Herdel (<i>Hordle</i>) - - -	5	-	-	8	-	4	-	-	-	100
Carried up	139 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	221	1079	49	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	81	672

* *Sylva* est in foresta; et valet 4 *solidos*. This loss of *pannage* money, which the wood annually produced, accounts for the decrease in the value of this manor.

† Lentune—tunc pro una hida; modo, pro dimidia, quia *sylva* est in foresta.

‡ *Sylvam* tenet Rex in foresta.

Pisteflei

(187)

Before the Survey;

At the Survey.

	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought up	139½	25½	8	221	1079	49	37½	24	81	672
Pisteflei (Pilley) - - -	-	1½	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
Traham (qy) - - - -	1	-	-	-	30	-	-	1	-	-
Alwinetune (qy) - - -	2	-	-	-	100	-	-	12	-	-
Bile (qy) - - - - -	1	-	-	-	40	-	-	4	-	-
Ditto - - - - -	1	-	-	-	40	-	-	4	-	-
Beceslei (<i>Baisbley</i>) - -	1	-	-	-	15	-	3	-	-	4
A mill here - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RODBRIDGE Hundred.										
Hariforde (qy) - - - -	1	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
† Depedene (<i>Dibden</i>) - -	5	-	-	10	-	2	-	-	-	50†
Bocolt (<i>Buckolt</i>) - - -	-	5	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-
Otreorde (qy) - - - -	1	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-
Nutlei (<i>Nutley</i>) - - - -	½	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
Otreorde (qy) - - - -	1	1	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-
Gatingeforde (qy) - - -	2	-	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	-
Teocreberie (<i>Tatchbury</i>) -	2	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-
Roweste (<i>Rowditch</i>) - -	1	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-
Hardelie (qy) - - - -	-	3	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-
EGHEITE Hundred.										
Hoburne (<i>Hubbern</i>) - -	1	-	-	-	20	-	1	-	-	15
RINCEVEDE Hundred.										
Herde ridge (<i>Harbridge</i>) -	5	-	-	4	10	3	1	-	-	70
BOVERE Hundred.										
Gretham (qy) - - - -	1	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-
Achelie (qy) - - - -	-	3	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-
Carried over	166	39	8	235	1755	54	42½	45	81	811

† Tamen reddit 100 solidos.

Bovreford

Before the Survey;

At the Survey.

	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought over	166	39	8	235	1755	54	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	81	811
Bovreford (<i>Boldre-bridge</i>) -	1	-	-	10	-	-	-	2	-	-
Pistelei (<i>Pilley</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	30	-	-	6	-	-
Wigareftun (qy) - - -	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-
Two manors called <i>Bovre</i> -	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	6	-	-
Cildeest (qy) - - - -	5	-	-	8	-	-	-	2	-	-
TRUHAM Hundred.										
A manor - - - - -	1	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Truham (qy) - - - -	1	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-
A manor - - - - -	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Betramelei (<i>Batramsley</i>) -	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
Sanheft (Sandy Down) -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
A manor - - - - -	-	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	20	-	-	1	-	-
Piteflai (qy) - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	15	-	-	3	-	-
Cocherlei (<i>Cockerly</i>) - -	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nutlei (<i>Nutley</i>) - - -	-	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Brochlei (<i>Brookly</i>) Maples-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ham (qy) - - - - -	2	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
Hincelvelei (<i>Hinchelfey</i>) -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
RODEDIC Hundred.										
Odetune (<i>Woolton</i>) - - -	1	-	-	-	40	-	-	15	-	-
Oxelei (<i>Oxley</i>) - - - -	2	-	-	-	40	-	-	4	-	-
Godesmanfcamp (<i>Godmans-</i>	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
craft) - - - - -	-	1	-	-	-	-	$\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	3
Melleford (<i>Milford</i>) - -	1	-	-	-	20	-	1	-	-	15
Effelei (<i>Ashley</i>) - - -	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	8	-	-	1	-	-	20
Mintestede (<i>Minstead</i>) -	3	-	-	-	60	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	40
Betestre (<i>Bisterne</i>) - - -	2	-	-	-	40	2	-	-	-	25
Crone (<i>Crow</i>) - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carried up	196	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	271	2128	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{4}$	89	81	914

Melleford

Before the Survey;

At the Survey.

	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.	Hides	Yard Lands	Acres	Pounds	Shill.
Brought up	196	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	271	2128	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{4}$	89	81	914
Melleford (<i>Milford</i>) - -	1	-	-	-	20	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	20*
Eniforde (<i>Efford</i>) - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	5	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	10†
Utefel (<i>Whitefields</i>) - -	-	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	5	-	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	5
A manor - - - - -	-	3	-	-	10	-	3	-	-	10
‡ Broceste (<i>Brockenburst</i>) -	1	-	-	-	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	4	-
Suei (<i>Sway</i>) - - - -	-	1	-	-	10	-	1	-	-	15
Before the Survey	198 $\frac{1}{2}$	56	8	271	2218	59	50 $\frac{3}{4}$	89	85	964
At the Survey -	59	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	964		§ 2 $\frac{3}{4}$: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Amount of the loss occasioned by the afforestation	139 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	186	1254		53 $\frac{1}{2}$			

* Here we see an instance, of an estate in the forest, which though it was lessened *one half*, yet its *valuation* continued the same as ever. This, among many other similar instances, affords a proof, that the *cultivated spots* in the south-western part of Hampshire, were not universally *laid waste* in the afforestation.

† This half hide appears to have doubled its value, since the time of Edward; a confirmation of what is advanced in the preceding note.

‡ Brockenhurst lying in the heart of the forest, *increased* in *value* from forty shillings to four pounds, notwithstanding it decreased in quantity from one hide to half a hide. The manor next mentioned increased also a third in value.

§ The acres saved from afforestation, in the third column of the second table, amount to eighty-nine; these I have thrown into yard lands, allowing thirty acres to every yard land. A just mode of calculation, since four *virgatæ* made one hide, which consisted of one hundred and twenty English acres.

|| For the easier understanding of the sums made use of in the above valuation let it be observed, that the Saxon pound was three times the weight of ours. It consisted of forty-eight shillings; each shilling equal to fifteen pence of our money. The Saxon penny (five of which made one of their shillings), was equal to three-pence of our money. Vide Fleetwood's *Chronicon Pretiosum*, p. 27. 28.

From

From the above statement it appears, that the estates which were in *some degree affected* or entirely swallowed up, in the formation of New-forest, had sunk, (taken as an aggregate), in consequence of the afforestation, a little more than two thirds in their original value. The number of places in all, amounts to one hundred and eight. Thirty of these only were severe sufferers; they now occupy the *heart* of New-forest, and are not assessed in Domesday book, because as the record tells, they were taken into the King's forest.

With respect to such manors, as were only *partially* injured by the afforestation; it must be observed, that a very large proportion of their decrease in value, is to be attributed to the King's assumption into his hands, of the *woods* belonging to them; from whence a great part of their annual rents arose*: for I have

* The woods were valuable, on account of the *food* which they afforded to *swine*, a meat in high esteem with our ancestors. All the northern nations indeed seem to have been particularly partial to the flesh of the boar and hog. The most delicate repasts of Ossian's heroes consisted of boars-flesh. The *fat* of the wild boar *Serimner*, regaled the gods of Scandinavian Mythology. See the twentieth fable of the Edda. Among the ancient Franks, swine were

have already shewn, in the notes accompanying the tables, that these spots, were in several instances, the only parts on which William seized. Here then was no appearance of oppressive barbarity—neither agriculture, nor population could be materially affected, by throwing into forest, tracts of woody land, which

were in such high esteem, that the second chapter of *Salic law* consists entirely of regulations to protect this species of property; and to punish any purloiner of it. Mallet's Northern Antiq. vol. II. p. 110. Means of furnishing *provision* for the animal thus universally esteemed, became the object of legal institutions. Hence the legislature extended its care to the preservation of the *mast* (A. S. *mærten*). By the laws of Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the eighth century, the owners of trespassing hogs were liable to the following penalties. “ Si quis in querceto suo porcos glandes devorantes (bona venia domino prius non concessa) invenerit, pigneretur primo quod sex solidorum æstimabitur. Et si illuc jam primo ingressi sunt porci, damnum solido uno dominus refarcito et præterea (pro eo ac fuerit æstimatio porcorum) confirmato non intrasse sæpius—sin sæpius irrupisse constabit duos solidos pendito.” And the following recompences were established by the same law, for him who voluntarily permitted his neighbours hogs to fatten in his own woods. Qui volens porcos faginandæ gratia ad glandes devorandas in quercetum admiserit suum, ex iis qui ad trium digitorum latitudinem pingueverint, sumito sibi tertium quemque: ex iis qui ad duorum digitorum crassitudinem faginati fuerint quartum: ex iis qui ad policis latitudinem excreverint pinguedine, quini singuli sui funto. Leges Inæ. apud Lambardi Archaionom. cap. 50. It is evident from Domesday-book,

which at most, could only afford temporary food for swine, or serve the purposes of fuel*.

If there were any degree of tyranny exerted in the transaction, it would be in the *entire afforestation* of the other *thirty manors*: but even here, I am inclined to think, there was none displayed. All these estates appear to have been of little annual value, in their most flourishing period, the reign of Edward the Confessor; and it is extremely probable, their *woods* were the most productive parts of them, even at that time. Indeed, a strong presumption that these spots were never in a state of high cultivation, arises from their appearance at the present day; the nature of the soil which covers them, being by no means adapted for

book, that even in the Conqueror's time the *pannage* of hogs, was a matter of great national importance; neither do the woods seem to have been regarded, but in the light of affording food to these animals; since the value of them is in that venerable record, estimated not according to their size, and extent, but in proportion to the number of hogs which could be fed therein.

* The termination of the names of several **New-forest** towns and villages, marks their ancient state pretty accurately. The *hpyr* at the end of Brockenhurst, Holdenhurst, Lyndhurst, &c. informs us, these places were formerly, either woods themselves, or entirely embosomed in them.

tillage.

*tillage**. The oak, the beech, and other forest timber, arrive at great perfection in them; but their sterile surface must always have been extremely adverse to the operations of the plough.

The extravagant falsehoods of the monkish writers, who have specified the number of churches destroyed by William in this afforestation, are too apparent to require proof. Even the most modest of them, has egregiously overstepped the line of probability, in his account. In tracts of country, which (from their nature) must have been, in ancient times, but thinly peopled, places of public worship, were sparingly scattered; and one church frequently served a very extensive district. Such doubtless was the case in the New-Forest. A woody and unproductive range of country, could only be inhabited by a small number of those wretched men, who, in the Anglo-Norman age, were denominated villains and slaves: and it was but of little consequence to the feudal lord, (who then erected churches on his own domain,) whether

* See Manwood page 148 et infra.

these *inferior beings*, as he esteemed them, had the benefits of social worship, or not. Besides, had these edifices ever existed, would not some remains of them be now discoverable? The impetuous fury of the devastation, would not have allowed him, *leisurely* to remove every vestige of the desecration; and unless this had been carefully done in the first instance, casualty, or curiosity, must have discovered in succeeding ages, some traces of the sacrilegious deed.

It has been hitherto generally supposed, that William the Conqueror was not the *original former* of New-Forest, but the *enlarger* of it only. An idea, that is in some measure supported by the words of Guillelmus Gemetecensis*. As our early monkish authors, however, were not for the most part writers of pure Latin, nor very accurate in their expressions; but frequently used terms, in different acceptations to their classical meaning; I cannot think that this circumstance is a sufficient foundation, for an opinion which has some strong arguments against it. For,

* Propter eandem forestam *amplificandam*.

in the first place, the very appellation given to the district under consideration, seems to mark William, as its original author. Is it not reasonable to suppose it was called *New Forest*, to distinguish it from those forests which had existed before its formation. The discriminative epithet *New*, cannot be mistaken. It implies an undertaking or plan entirely novel, and could not have been applied, without absurdity, to a forest which had been in being for ages, but lately enlarged by the addition of three or four thousand acres. Add to this too, it appears from Domesday-Book, that in the time of Edward the Confessor, *all* those manors, which from the *central* and other parts of the present New-forest, were inhabited though but thinly, and regularly assessed with the rest of the county, to the payment of the geld; an imposition they unquestionably would have been exempted from, had they composed, at that period, a *Royal Forest*. As for the name *Ytene*, or *Ychene*, which the Forest is said to have borne, before the time of William the Conqueror, I cannot discover the precise meaning of it; though I rather imagine it to be a Saxon appellative, signifying a *woody tract* of country. If so, it

might be extremely well applied to the south-western part of Hampshire, which as we have already shewn, was anciently in a great measure covered with wood.

From the whole that has been advanced then, I think we may fairly draw these general conclusions. 1st, That in early times, previous to the reign of William, the tract of country now denominated New-forest, was a sterile and woody district, occupied by some of the lower ranks of society; for the most part uncultivated, but with a few places here and there, which were in the rude tillage of the age. 2dly, That William (after his establishment in this kingdom) being passionately fond of hunting, and wishing to extend the scenes of his favorite amusement, fixed on this corner of Hampshire, as a spot proper for his purpose, and accordingly converted a large proportion of it into forest. But 3dly, that the afforestation was made without much *injury* to the *subject*, or *offence* to *religion*: the scantiness of its population, and barrenness of its surface, precluding the one; and the circumstances of the times, and state of that part of the kingdom, forbidding us to believe there could be
many

many places of worship existing there, the desecration of which might have scandalized the other.

According to the improved opinions of the present age, when the rights of property are better understood and defended, than they were in early times; this forcible assumption of territory, however barren and unproductive it might be; and however few, and wretched, its inhabitants were, would, notwithstanding, now be considered as a harsh act of despotism, and resisted accordingly. But in the eleventh century, the case was different. We are too apt, indeed, to estimate early events by the standard of modern manners and ideas; without considering that the circumstances, and opinions of the times when they occurred, might materially alter their complexion, and almost their very nature. Exertions of power, which would *now* kindle the enlightened subject into instant indignation; were, in the Anglo-Norman age, looked for as the necessary ebullitions of royal authority. The sceptre, which is *now* considered as the instrument of *general and diffusive good*; was *then* gazed at, as an engine entitled by its awful, inherent virtue, to enforce *despotic will*, and gratify *individual caprice*. It was in consequence of this

mode of thinking, that the English monarchs from the tenth to the thirteenth century, exercised various acts of real tyranny, under the sanction of their being *rights* belonging to the crown. Among these obnoxious privileges, that of *afforesting lands*, was not the least repugnant to common justice and civil liberty*. It may be worth while to pause for a moment, and endeavour to trace the origin of this oppressive prerogative.

Among the barbarians of the north, who bursting from their frozen regions, overturned the sinking fabric of the Roman empire, and formed with its fragments, the foundations of the present European nations; there were two

* An expression in the "Constitutiones de Foresta" of Canute, alludes to this privilege. "Omnis liber homo habeat
"venerem, &c. sine *chaceâ* tamen, et devitent omnes *meam ubi-*
"*cunque eam habere voluerit.*" Mr. Agarde also observes, "the
"kings of this realm before King John's time, had this prero-
"gative, to make, or put any man's manors or woods to be
"his forest. For among the records of the forests, it is pre-
"sented; that King Henry the first, by the name of Henricus
"Senex, passing through Leicestershire towards Scotland, saw
"three stags in that place where the forest of Rutland is, now
"called Lyefield; and finding the place fit to make a forest,
"he committed the keeping thereof, to one of his servants till
"his return, when he put over the keeping thereof to one
"Husculfus." Hearne's Curious Discourses, v. II. p. 313.

ruling

ruling passions, which seemed entirely to possess their souls: a love of *war*, and of the *chace*. Of the *former*, they found ample gratification, in the contests wherein they were necessarily engaged, in pursuing their conquests, and securing their acquisitions. When these ends were fully attained; when want of more enemies precluded further carnage, and they were obliged to turn from war, to other concerns; the *latter* affection would again recur, and occupy their chief attention.

Such was the case, with the Saxon conquerors of this kingdom. As soon as the utter extermination of the Britons, left them without an opportunity of pursuing these martial delights; they had recourse to that amusement, which bore the nearest resemblance to them, the old and favorite one of the *chace**. The extent of the reduced country, and the comparative small number of its conquerors, allowed these hunters, to enjoy their sport, in the most ample manner. The chieftains, however, who were raised above their brother soldiers, by a few honorary distinctions; would natu-

* Aristides says of hunting, that it is της πολεμικης μοριον τεχνης, μαλλον δε ειπων. Orat. in Minerv.

rally be complimented, with the choice of such spots, as they were pleased to mark out, for their own exclusive diversion. To this concession, (as the kingdom was vastly more than sufficient for the occupation of its new inhabitants, as tillage was scarcely understood, or practised, and territory, in consequence, but little esteemed by them) a privilege was added, that enabled them to amplify these peculiar chaces, by the annexation of any tracts of land, which they pitched upon, for that purpose*. This appears to have been the origin, of that *right of afforestation*, possessed by the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Danish, and Anglo-Norman kings; which continued vested in royalty, till the indignant barons tore it, together with some other monstrous privileges, from the crown of John, in the beginning of the thirteenth century†.

It is for an *exertion* of this *right*, tyrannical in itself, but countenanced by the institutions and opinions of the æra when it occurred, that the Conqueror has been so liberally, but unjustly abused.

* See Manwood 148.

† Vide Manwood 140 et infra.

But

But however William may stand excused from the charge of tyranny, when considered as the *former* of New-forest; yet reproach and indignation will deservedly accumulate upon him, if he be viewed as its *legislator*. It is when beheld in this character, that he appears the sanguinary, and vindictive tyrant; oppressing his people, perverting justice, and trampling upon the most sacred rights of man. The institutions which he framed for the correction of offenders in hunting, breathe a spirit of refined cruelty, only to be equalled by the severity with which they were enforced. Confiscation of goods, loss of liberty, and mutilation of person, form the fearful list of punishments, which awaited those who had dared to infringe on the sports of royalty. Well might an early author, when adverting to this sanguinary code exclaim—" Dreadful are the
 " distresses of that land, whose monarch is the
 " careful preserver of noxious animals; and
 " the unmerciful destroyer of his own sub-
 " jects*.

As the consideration of *forest law*, is a speculation of a curious nature, and unfolds in

* Matthew Paris, p. 12.

some measure the manners of our ancestors; it may not be uninteresting, to give a slight historical sketch of it.

We are not to look for the origin of forest law; that oppressive system of it, I mean, of which we have just spoken, among the Anglo-Saxons. Their notions of liberty were too exalted, to brook that royal monopoly of game, which these laws suppose; and their principles of legislation too liberal, to annex punishments to offences, so extremely disproportionate. Such of their legal regulations, as are handed down to us, either in the form of local customs, or in the common law; speak a language of equity and moderation, that by no means accords with the severity of the forest institutions. As the people among the Anglo-Saxons, were divided into two grand classes, the *servile*, and the *free*: it is probable, the privilege of hunting, was enjoyed in general by the latter; with the gentle prohibition, perhaps, of not pursuing their sport on the forests of the king. This we are authorized to suppose, from the general mildness of their government, and the liberality of their political institutions. In the laws of the Saxon monarchs, Ina, Alfred, Edward, Edgar, Athelstan,

Athelstan, and Ethelred, remaining to our times, we discover no traces of arbitrary and cruel inflictions ; in order to restrain that propensity to the chace, which their subjects, and all other people in periods of intellectual darkness, would be remarkable for*. Nor do they appear, till the sceptre of England was transferred into the hand of a Dane: when the legal institutions of the kingdom, assumed a harsher tone, than they had before spoken in ; and *forest law* received a place among them. Hunting however, even now, was not entirely prohibited to the freeman ; but his sport was restricted to the pursuit of particular beasts†. The *royal game* was sacred, and could not be taken without subjecting the offender to punishments: the royal *forests*, were prohibited spots, and could not be entered, for the purpose of hunting, with impunity‡. It is at this period then, that we are to look for

* These institutions curious both from their antiquity, and the light they throw on the state of manners in the Anglo-Saxon times, are to be found in Lambard's *Archaionomia*. Apud Cantab. 1644.

† See *Constitut. de Foresta Canuti Regis*. Apud Manwood's *Forest Law*. Appendix.

‡ *Leges Canuti* in Lambard. *Archaionom.* p. 125. sec. 77.

the first introduction of a regular system of forest legislation.

By the *charta de foresta* of Canute the Dane, we find magistrates were appointed to reside in every province in England; whose authority extended to the cognizance of offences committed in the royal forests, and to the punishment of offenders. Inferior to these: were the sixteen *regarders*, whose duty consisted in preserving both the venison and vert from injury: while the charge of apprehending trespassers, and preventing the depredations of nocturnal plunderers, was imposed on two and thirty *tinemen* or keepers.

These officers had regular annual salaries paid them for their trouble; and enjoyed immunities of a very important nature*.

* The *Pægenes* were allowed each, every year, two horses; one with a saddle, another without one: a sword, five lances, one helmet, one shield, and two hundred shillings. The other officers were rewarded, in proportion to their dignity. Their immunities and privileges were great. They were exempted from paying tributes and taxes, and attending all civil courts. Besides, if any one were appointed a *tineman* or keeper; and at the time of his being appointed was a slave; the office, as soon as he entered upon it, rendered him free.

After

After the foregoing appointments, the code proceeds to pronounce the punishments to be inflicted on the forest trespasser.

If, says the twentieth section, any delinquent be taken in our forest; let him be punished, according to the nature of his offence.

22d. If any gentleman shall drive a wild beast of the forest, either by accident or design, so that the animal be wind-blown, he shall forfeit ten shillings to the king; if he be a countryman, he shall be fined double that sum, if he be a slave he shall be severely striped*.

24th. But if any gentleman shall wind-blow the royal beast, called the stag; he shall lose his liberty for a twelve-month; a countryman, for the same crime, shall be confined two years; and a slave shall be outlawed.

25th. If the stag be killed; the gentleman shall lose his shield of freedom; the countryman his liberty; and the slave his life.

26th. Bishops, abbots, and barons, shall not be sued on account of venison, if they refrain from destroying royal beasts.

* *Careat Corio*, is the expression; which I understand to mean, that he should be beaten till the skin were peeled off.

34th. If a mad dog shall bite a wild beast, then its owner must pay a sum of money equal to the weregild* of a gentleman, which is two thousand shillings. If it be a royal beast so bitten; the owner shall be liable to capital punishment†.

But these precautions were not sufficient for the northern kings who guarded the objects of their sport, with the most rigid vigilance. Their jealousy extended even to dogs, and such grey-hounds as were kept within ten miles of the forest, underwent a cruel operation, to disable them from pursuing the royal game‡.

The severity of these forest institutions, so contrary to the mildness of the Saxon laws, arose partly from the general character of the Northern nations, which was marked by

* The weregild was a specific sum paid by the murderer to the friends of the deceased, as a compensation to them for the loss of his society; the manbote was a like recompence made to the King, (as head of the state) for the supposed detriment occasioned to the latter, by the loss of a subject. *Leges Inæ apud Lambarde sect. 70. Fæd. int. Elfred. et Guth. idem 2.*

† Manwood ut supra.

‡ Expeditation, or cutting out the balls of the feet. See Du Fresne in *Voc. Expeditatio, Genuscissio.*

a peculiar

a peculiar ferocity; and partly from the spirit of their governments, in which the feudal system had more deeply ingrafted itself, than among our ancestors before the conquest. Hence their rulers possessed a more untrouled authority, than the monarch of a comparatively free people could enjoy; and were enabled, in consequence, to enact institutions in their own countries without resistance; which would not have been tolerated in this realm, had its natives remained unsubdued.

The sanguinary hue of forest-law, was rendered of a far deeper die, by the fierce, and impetuous William*; who inflicted punishments

* William might have imbibed a portion of his severity against trespassers in hunting, from his neighbours the French, among whom, any slight offences of this kind were punished with the utmost rigour. This will appear from the following anecdote. A French king, by name Gontran, discovered, in a hunting expedition, a buffalo which had been illegally killed. Enraged to a violent pitch of fury, at this innovation on his sport; he instantly sent for his forester, and commanded him on pain of immediate destruction, to find the person who had perpetrated the atrocious fact. Terror at his alarming situation, induced the forester to accuse the chamberlain, who denied the charge with firmness, and pertinacity. Issue of battle, (the test of guilt, and innocence in the middle ages,) was immediately awarded; and the champions of the forester, and chamberlain, entered

ments shocking to humanity, even on the unfortunate offender that had, unwittingly, trespassed on his woods, or injured his beasts of sport. Rescinding that permission of the chace, given to the higher ranks of society by Canute; this mighty hunter monopolized the whole game of the kingdom, to the use of himself, and his particular favorites. His soul indeed appeared to be entirely engrossed by this passion; to its gratification, he sacrificed his humanity, his honor, his character; and was content to become an object of hatred to his contemporaries, and of execration to posterity*.

The sensibility, and intellect of Rufus, were not sufficient to allow him to relax these

entered the lists, to vindicate the honor of their respective lords. After a fierce contest, the combatants expired nearly at the same moment. The fury of the royal hunter was not however satisfied with this indecisive determination of the question; the testimony of the forester was again taken, and the unfortunate chamberlain paid the forfeit of his life, for this imaginary, or at least, venial offence. Mezeray Hist. de Fr. 40.

* Matthew Westminster speaking of the Conqueror says; qui pro feris homines mutilavit, exheredavit, incarceravit, trucidavit, et si quis cervum vel aprum caperet, oculis privabatur, p. 9. See also Sax. Chron. p. 191. Anglia. Sac. v. I. p. 258. Knyghton, p. 2354. l. 18. cum multis aliis.

tyrannical

tyrannical institutions. His innate cruelty gave him rather a contrary bias ; and he seems even to have exceeded his father, in the rigorous punishments, and infamous exactions, which he enforced, and collected by means of forest-law*. Whenever he was inclined either to satiate his revenge, or gratify his avarice ; this was the dreadful engine, which he used for the purpose ; and history records, among many other facts of a like nature, an instance of fifty opulent, and respectable men, undergoing at one time, the test of the fiery ordeal, to clear themselves from an accusation, of their having destroyed the royal game†.

We are surprized to find the wise and sagacious Henry the first, so deeply tinged with the fashionable passion of the times, as to afforest large tracts of cultivated land, exercise the most barbarous cruelty on trespassers, and strain forest law to its utmost pitch of rigor. The murder of a fellow-creature, and the destruction of a stag, were crimes of an equal die ; and both punished with death. The expeditation of dogs in the neighbourhood of

* Knyghton apud Dec. Scrip. Twisdeni, l. II. c. 7.

† Eadmerus Hist. Nov. p. 48.

all forests was rigidly enforced; and scarcely was the privilege allowed, to a few royal favourites, of following the chace upon their own demefnes*.

The turbulence, and disquietude of Stephen's reign, gave him but little time for the pursuit of his amusements. It is probable, however, that the relaxation of forest-law, was not the consequence of his inability to enjoy the chace; for though at the commencement of his usurpation, he deluded the English, with voluntary promises, to correct a variety of abuses; to disafforest the land Henry had taken in; to prevent the oppressions of forest-officers; and to repeal the severe institutions against hunting; yet his subsequent conduct proved, that he was only temporizing with his subjects, since he never took any measures, to carry these schemes of redress into execution.

The succeeding reign produced some mitigation in the punishments inflicted on forest-

* Will. Malm. p. 179. Willel. Neub. lib. I. c. 3. *Omnem ferarum venationem totius Angliæ sibi peculiarem vendicavit. Pedes etiam Canum qui in vicinio sylvarum morabantur, ex parte præcidi fecit; et vix paucis nobilioribus, ac familiaribus privilegium in propius saltibus venandi permisit.* Orderic. Vital. lib. II. p. 823.

trespaffers

trespassers. The loss of liberty, or temporary banishment, was deemed, by the wisdom of Henry the second, a sufficient atonement, for the destruction of game*. Under his son Richard however, forest-law again appeared in its most terrible form. In the year 1198, an Itinerant, or circuit was made through the kingdom, by the chief justice in Eyre, and two other magistrates, to take cognizance of offences committed in the forests. This was the dreadful language, in which the precepts that regulated their decisions were couched.

“ The King declares, that if any one forfeit
 “ to him concerning his venison, or his forests
 “ in any thing, he is not to trust to this, that
 “ he shall only be punished in his goods, as
 “ hitherto. For if, after this time, any one
 “ forfeit, and be convicted, he shall have full
 “ justice done upon him, as it was in King

* Qui (Henricus 2dus) hujusmodi transgressores carcerali custodiæ sive exilio ad tempus coercuit. Notwithstanding this mitigation in the *punishments* of forest-offenders; these tracts of land were still guarded by Henry with great *vigilance*; as is apparent from certain concessions made to the clergy in the 22d year of his reign, by which they are absolved from answering, before a lay judge, for any crime, or transgression whatever, *except breaches of the forest law*. Hovedon.

“ Henry our grandfather’s time. That is ;
 “ he shall lose his *eyes*, and his *virility*”—and
 again—“ It is to be noted, that he which
 “ takes venison in the King’s forest, and
 “ shall be thereof attainted, shall be in the
 “ King’s mercy, as to the losing of his eyes,
 “ and virility*.”

The successor of Richard, passionately devoted to hunting, rather increased, than diminished these sylvan oppressions—Exactions of an intolerable nature were made by the forest officers, who executed the most provoking tyranny on all around them, under the sanction of forest-law—Punishments most terrible, were inflicted on trespassers, without form of trial—By one stroke of arbitrary power, all the dogs, in every forest throughout England, were destroyed ; a general prohibition was issued, to prevent the subjects from hunting, or disturbing in any manner that game, which was intended for the exclusive solace, and diversion of royalty†.

When

* Brady’s Hist. Eng. v. I. Appen. p. 100.

† It was during these ages, that the nobility, as well as the princes, were so careful of their game, as not to suffer dogs which

When abuses arrive at a certain height, they naturally reform themselves. Grievances and extortions, had now become too numerous and oppressive, to be longer endured. The generous barons threw the yoke indignantly from their necks; founded the trumpet of liberty, and wrested from John, those charters, which form the grand basis of our freedom.

“ Then justice fearless raised her decent head,
 “ Heal’d ev’ry wound, each wrong redress’d;
 “ While round her valiant squadrons stood,
 “ And bade her awful tongue demand,
 “ From vanquish’d John’s reluctant hand,
 “ The *Deeds of Freedom*, purchas’d with their blood.”

The most important reliefs which the subject experienced, from the celebrated charta de foresta, are contained in the following sections.

which were not expeditated to be kept on their demesnes. The following paragraph is extracted from a grant made by Robert de Gaunt, to the Canons of Bridlington in Yorkshire; containing a permission for these favored ecclesiastics to keep four dogs with unmutilated feet, at their sheep folds, under certain regulations. Habebunt etiam iidem canponici ad prædictas vacarias, quatuor canes cum *integris pedibus*; duos ad unam, et duos ad alteram, solutos noctibus, et ligatos diebus; qui si inventi fuerint soluti, a prima hora die usque ad vesperem, custodes eorum erunt in forisfacto domini, et canes in misericordia ejus. Mon. Ang. tom. II. p. 165. a 50.

1st. A disafforestation of all the lands thrown into forest, by Henry I.

2d. An exemption of those who dwelt *without* the boundaries of a forest, from attending its courts.

6th. A prohibition of various impositions of forest-officers.

11th. A mitigation of the punishment for stealing deer, from the loss of life, and limb, to imprisonment for a year and a day.

12th. A permission for every Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron, passing through a forest to court, to take one or two deer; either before the forester, if he be present; or on blowing a horn, if he be absent.

15th. A prohibition of exactions, for the carriage of goods, or the driving of cattle, through forests.

16th. A permission for all persons, who had been outlawed, for offences committed in forests, to reverse the outlawry*.

These are the principal alterations of old forest-law, and the concessions in favor of liberty, made by the *charta de foresta* of King John: concessions, which have been confirmed

* Brady's Appen. Hist. Eng. v. I. p. 141, et infra.

by succeeding monarchs, and still continue to be the basis of our forest regulations.

Whether, however, it would not be more consonant with the present enlarged notions of civil liberty, entirely to new-model, or altogether abolish forest law, I leave to others to determine. Though it must be confessed, there seem to be objections against its longer existence, not easily to be answered. It throws a power into the hands of forest officers, of becoming petty tyrants, of distressing, and teasing, by fundry methods, both those who live within the precincts of these tracts, and such as dwell on their borders. It militates strongly, against one principle of rational legislation, by denouncing a punishment, far too grievous, for the criminality of the offence intended to be prevented. And, finally, it carries traces in it, of those absurd and inequitable distinctions in the administration of justice, formerly made, between the different classes of the community, distinctions that should have expired with the feudal system, with which they originally arose.

C H A P. V.

*Lymington River. Walhampton. Doyly Park.
 Baddesley. Pile-Well. Knights-Templars.
 Sowley. Park-Farm. The Grange. Beau-
 lieu.*

ONE of the most valuable circumstances in the situation of Lymington, is its proximity to a copious river which flows at the bottom of the town ; and which when the tide is high, presents to the eye a fine expanse of water. This is one of those local advantages, which if rightly managed, may be rendered the certain means of affluence and aggrandizement to a town, and its inhabitants. The opportunity it affords of a perpetual intercourse with other kingdoms, or different parts of the same country ; of an advantageous exchange of home commodities for foreign articles ; of the carriage of goods to and from its ports, with ease, expedition, and cheapness ; must extend the trade, multiply the inhabitants, and increase the riches of a place so situated ; provided it
 be

be not itself wanting, in improving such an advantage. Lymington in some degree, confirms the truth of this observation. Though in a manner insulated by New-forest, which shuts it in on three sides; and lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the three great ports of Cowes, Southampton, and Portsmouth; yet the active spirit of its inhabitants has, by availing itself of the river, counteracted the other apparent inconveniences of its situation; and without the assistance of one internal manufacture except salt, converted Lymington from a small, and thinly inhabited place, into a populous, affluent, and well-built town. From a very early period, the wines of the continent, as I have before remarked, were wafted into its port; and in succeeding ages, the small, but numerous profits of a coasting trade, have thrown into it a very considerable degree of wealth*.

There

* Lymington has many privileges annexed to its *port*, though it be subordinate to the port of Southampton. As early as the second of Edward the third, the *petty duties* were taken by the inhabitants of Lymington, on certain merchandizes brought to their port. The people of Southampton disputed their right of imposing and receiving duties; the question was tried, and the
men

There is one circumstance however, which in the course of time, if the evil be not remedied, may deprive Lymington of the advantages it has hitherto received from its river, by rendering the navigation of this estuary, not only difficult, but impracticable, for ships of burthen. I mean the accumulation of mud, which increases very apparently every year; gradually contracting the channel, and lessening its depth. Such a material alteration has it worked in the latter, within this half century, that, as I am informed from very good authority, a vessel of five or six hundred tons burthen, could conveniently lie along-side Lymington quay, about sixty years ago; whereas now, the water will scarcely allow a collier of three hundred tons, to be navigated to the same place. This very unfavorable cir-

men of Lymington were cast. This was in 1329, Madox Firm. Burg. p. 220. Notwithstanding the decision against them, the men of Lymington, afterwards, were repeatedly guilty of the same offence, and as repeatedly paid for it; but at length in the year 1730, having again taken the petty customs, and being sued for the same, by the mayor and corporation of Southampton, the people of Lymington, had the address to get the cause moved from the courts above, to the county assize, where a jury from their own neighbourhood, gave a verdict in their favour. Since this period the petty customs have been paid at Lymington.

cumstance,

cumstance, has been occasioned by a causeway, thrown across the river, to the north of the town, half a century ago; which impeding the free current of the water, prevents the freshes from carrying off the alluvion and filth, brought in, and deposited, at the flowing of the tide. This, settling on the margin of the channel, has rendered it already very narrow; and will probably in a few years, so compleatly choak it up, as to make it unnavigable by any ships of considerable burthen.

The country immediately on the banks of Lymington river is extremely beautiful. The eastern side however has considerably the advantage in this respect. Art having been here judiciously busied, in embellishing scenes which nature had fitted for her plastic hand. The hanging coppices and plantations of Walhampton; the swellings and fallings of the country about Vicar's hill; and the rich wood-scenery of Heathy-Dilton, and Brockenhurst; form a fine *coup d'oeil* from many spots on the western side of Lymington river. The grounds of Walhampton in particular, are very pleasingly disposed: and tho perhaps they do not when considered as *a whole*, exactly tally with the taste of the present age; yet if we reflect that they were

were the *entire* work of a respectable character, who began his plans of improvement near *sixty* years ago, when the principles of *gardening* were greatly different to what they are now, we shall very readily excuse any little deviation in them from modern rules. Indeed I have ever been greatly delighted, with the walks and alleys of Walhampton gardens. There is an appearance of quiet and seclusion in them, that always impresses the mind with solemn, and pleasing ideas; and I never stray there, but I consider them, as “those sweet retired
“solitudes”

“Which wisdom’s self

“Might seek——

“And with her best nurse *Contemplation*.

“There plume her feathers, and let grow her wings,

“That in the various bustle of resort,

“Were all to* ruffled, and sometimes impaired.”

The manor of Walhampton is a very ancient one; occurring in the Domesday record†. By
the

* All to (*entirely*).

† Ipse. Comes (Rogerius) tenet in Wolnetune, dimidiam hidam; et Fulcuinus de eo. Alnod tenuit in paragio. Tunc pro dimidia hida; modo pro una virgata; terra est i carucata;
et

the grant of Henry the first it came, with a variety of other lands, into the possession of Richard de Redvers, who presented it to the Canons of Christ-church, where it continued till the dissolution. Just previous to this event, I find that a certain proportion of an annual £10. pension, paid to the steward of Christ-church monastery, issued out of Walhampton manor*. Henry the eighth conferred it on Thomas Wriothesley Esquire, afterwards created Earl of Southampton; from whose descendants, it came into the possession of the Earls of Arundel, and afterwards into the family of the present owner.

D'Oyly park, the residence of Sir John D'Oyly Baronet, is a large and elegant mansion; commanding an extensive, and sweeping view. The ground around it, is rather flat and tame; and therefore incapable of assuming an appearance of any great variety; though as the improvements are yet in their infancy, it

et ibi est in dominio, cum uno bordario, et uno servo. T. R. E. valebat 15 solidos; et postea, et modo, 10 solidos. Silva est in foresta, et valet 10 solidos.—Hamp. extracted from Dom. Book, p. 260.

* Inter Comput. Ministrorum 32 Hen. VIII. Comp. Monasterii nuper de Christ-church Twyneham.

is impossible to judge what their effect may be, when matured.

Continuing in a south-eastern direction for little more than half a mile, we arrive at the ancient village of Baddesley, which appears to have existed in the Conqueror's time*. Obscure as it now is, five centuries ago it was honored by the residence of a party of knights-templars, a mongrel species of monastics, who attempted to blend the opposite characters of soldiers, devotees, and gallants. The history of this extraordinary order is curious, and may serve the useful purpose, of a warning against unlimited confidence in the fickle smiles of prosperity.

In the year one thousand one hundred and eighteen, when the spirit of adventure and knight-errantry was rapidly unfolding itself, and religious enthusiasm carried to the highest pitch: nine crusaders, Geoffry de St. Aldemar, Hugh des Paynes, and seven others, who were quartered in the neighbourhood of the temple at Jerusalem, associated themselves together; for the purpose of defending such pilgrims, as the superstition of the times conducted to the

* Hampshire extracted from Domesday-book.

holy sepulchre. Their vow was, to observe inviolable chastity, perpetual poverty, and to afford protection to the distressed.

They adhered for a short time, to this rule of life and manners, with tolerable strictness; subsisting entirely on the bounty of others, and keeping but one horse for the use of two knights. But the active gallantry of these military monks, soon rendering them extremely popular; riches accumulated upon them from every quarter. The affluent devotee, who had been protected on his pious expedition from the insults of the Saracen, by the bravery of the templars, deemed it but a proper return to God, and the order, to devote a large proportion of his possessions, to the use of its members. While the lukewarm christian, who had not enthusiasm, or courage sufficient to undertake the voyage to Palestine himself; thought he could make some amends to the divinity for this omission, by loading with presents these guardians of the traveller, and thus securing to others, a safe journey to the hallowed spot. From these, and such like causes, the Knights-templars became incredibly affluent. At the æra of their suppression they numbered among their possessions

lessions sixteen thousand lordships ; beside other lands ; estates which they had acquired in little more than one hundred and fifty years.

The very circumstance, however, which appeared to promise aggrandisement and duration to the order, proved the occasion of its extinction. Unbounded prosperity, and increasing wealth, undermined the virtue, and relaxed the vigilance of the Knights-templars. Pride and avarice, usurped the place of humility and moderation. Their habits of chastity and decency, were succeeded by the practice of abominable impurities : and the active valour by which they had acquired so much renown, degenerated into indolent voluptuousness. In short, were we to give implicit credit to contemporary writers, we should believe the Knights-templars to have exhibited, at the latter end of the thirteenth century, one general appearance of monstrous, and unnatural depravity. Whether, however, these representations of them be truly coloured, and the infamy of the Knights-templars were really such as deserved the judgment that befell them ; or whether (as is most probable) their riches, and prosperous state, constituted their worst offences, exciting the envy of other

orders, and the avarice of the great, we cannot determine; but certain it is, that by one terrible and severe stroke, all the Knights-templars throughout every country in Europe, were, by a deep-concerted scheme, seized and imprisoned on an appointed day. The great and numerous estates which they possessed, were greedily grasped by the several princes in whose kingdoms the order had flourished; while some of its miserable members were tortured into contradictory confessions of incredible guilt; others condemned to death for refusing to criminate themselves; and such as were more mercifully treated, dispersed through different monasteries, and doomed to perpetual penance.

Thus fell the Knights-templars; an order that was more remarkable for the modesty of its origin, the rapidity of its increase, the splendor of its meridian, and the suddenness of its fall, than any other monastic rule which has hitherto appeared. The first attack upon it was made by Pope Clement the fifth, at the intreaty of Philip the Fair, King of France, in 1307; and its utter extinction was decreed, by the council of Vienne in 1311; just one hundred

hundred and ninety-three years after its first establishment*.

The preceptory of Knights-templars at Baddesley, was founded about the latter end of the twelfth century. One Sir Ralph Masurell seems to have been its greatest benefactor: endowing it with various lands and tenements in the Isle of Wight, and in the village of Milford†. At the suppression of the order, Edward the second granted this preceptory, with its appurtenances, to the Knights-hospitallers of Jerusalem, another body of military ecclesiastics, who had associated themselves together, rather prior to the Knights-templars. This order exists to the present day, under the title of the Knights of Malta; and engaged in constant hostilities with the Turks, and the redemption of Christian captives, still performs the duties to which its founders originally engaged themselves by oath. In the possession of these Knights, Baddesley continued till the

* Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. v. III. p. 19. 383. Newcourt's Repertorium. Matthew Paris. Indicem in Verb.

† Radulfus Masurell Miles dedit quamplurima, terras et tenementa, et alia bona, Templariis, in Villa de Mulleford, Uggetone, et Carebrooke, pertinentes eidem præceptorie. Mon. Ang. v. II. p. 548, (b) 17.

dissolution; when it was seized on by Henry the 8th, and granted by him to Sir Thomas Seymour*. At this period, its annual value was £118. 16s. 7d.

The ambition of this Nobleman, leading him into treasonable practices, he was in 1549, committed to the tower, and shortly after beheaded. In consequence of which attainder, his possessions escheating to the crown, Baddesley was, once more, at the disposal of Henry. He did not, however, alienate it again. Edward the 6th, granted Baddesley preceptory, and its appurtenant lands, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; from whom it was resumed by the bigotted Mary, and given to its old possessors the Knights-hospitallers†. But the ensuing protestant reign threw it into the hands of laymen, in which it has ever since continued.

The coffers of Henry the 8th, were refurnished with another small supply from Baddesley

* Tanner's Notitia Monastica.

† It is to be observed, that Queen Mary *restored* many of the orders which had been dissolved at the reformation, and amongst the rest, the Knights-hospitallers. Elizabeth however once more demolished them. Fuller's Church Hist. p. 354. 359.

at the dissolution. Henry Wells, lord of this manor in the beginning of the fourteenth century, experiencing great inconveniences from the distance between his mansion and the church of Boldre, (in which parish Baddesley is included) petitioned the Bishop of Winchester, for leave to erect and endow a small chapel on his own manor. The request was granted, edifice built; and certain lands appropriated to its service. It being however, one of the duties of its priest to pray for the soul of the Founder, this was deemed to be a *superstitious use*, and the chapel in consequence, involved in the general wreck*.

A small manerial chapel, appertaining to the estate of Thomas Robbins esquire, of Pile-well, now occupies the site of the ancient preceptory.

Pile-well house is a handsome family seat beautifully situated; enjoying a fine view that ranges from the Needles to Spithead.—The south front is the most striking; consisting of an elegant suite of apartments—Its west wing is formed by the library; a noble, and well-proportioned room, stocked with a

* Worley's Hist. Isle of Wight. p. 190. note.

variety of choice books—The grounds around it are laid out with great simplicity; an extensive lawn, belted by a shady walk, with occasional openings, stretches from the house to the sea side. This disposition of them is extremely different, and highly improved, from what it was about fifty years ago; as appears from a print I have of Pile-well at that time—Formal alleys; quaintly-clipt hedges; and nicely-matched parterres, gave the pleasure-ground then the appearance of the garden mentioned by Pope, where,

“ Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother,

“ And half the platform, just reflects the other.

A short distance to the eastward of Pile-well, lies *Sowley*, formerly part of the demesne of Beaulieu monastery; and now annexed to the Beaulieu estate. It is remarkable for an extensive pond, which covers nearly one hundred and forty acres of ground; being in many parts extremely deep, and abounding with excellent fish. This sheet of water was formerly, as appears by ancient charters, denominated *Fresh-water*, and considered as one of the boundaries of the abbey's possessions. It must have been a valuable circumstance

stance to Beaulieu monastery, to include such a noble pond as this, within its demesne. The frequent fasts enjoined by monastic discipline, occasioned a great and constant consumption of fish; so that a piece of water well-stocked with this species of provisions, was as essential to a monk, as his cloister. Sowley pond at present however, answers purposes far more useful to the community, than could arise from its former designation; its waters turning two vast mills, which reduce the pig iron, into formal masses. These are conveyed by water carriage to Reading, and there manufactured into iron wire.

The next trace we discover of the ancient consequence of Beaulieu abbey, is Park farm, two miles from Sowley; almost close to the sea shore. This I conceive to have been one of the *Granges*, anciently appertaining to the monastery. They were nothing more than farms, situated at convenient distances, on the demesnes of the religious house; where its agricultural concerns were managed. Here the grain was deposited; the live stock kept; and the cheese, butter, &c. made, with which the convent was supplied. As many of these buildings were at a distance from the

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monastery,

monastery, and their inhabitants consequently precluded from attending divine worship there; the popes were accustomed to grant the privileges of erecting chapels at the granges, and celebrating the rites of the church in them*. The chapel of Park grange remains to this day though in a dilapidated state; and appears to have been a neat little edifice. It joins at the south-east end, the farm house, which is a massive, stone building of the same age. Its length is nearly forty-two feet, and breadth about thirteen. The building consists of two compartments, formed by a stone skreen, or division, which reaches to the roof; it has a doorway in it, with a saxon arch. The interior chamber, I imagine, was intended for the higher part of the family; while the exterior one, or anti-chapel, received the servants, and labourers. The floor, at the eastern end of the inner chapel, where the altar was placed, is elevated about six inches. In the southern side, at the same extremity, is a niche, where

* See Appendix No. 2. A bull from Pope Alexander Ist; permitting divine service to be celebrated in the Granges belonging to Beaulieu Abbey.

the pix, and crucifix were placed. The roofs of these apartments, are without ornament; having four plain ribs, which support the vaulting in each, and unite in a rose, in the middle. The interior chapel is lighted by three handsome Gothic windows, on the east, north, and south sides. The anti-chapel has only two lancet lights, at the south-west extremity.

The situation of this farm is extremely pleasing. It lies at some distance from the main road; and is embosomed in fine woods which almost surround it, though affording by occasional breaks, beautiful views of the Isle of Wight, and the intervening strait.

As we approach nearer to Beaulieu, remains of antiquity accumulate upon us. A few hundred yards from Park-farm; we meet with the august ruin of an enormous stone barn, which, as the road makes a bend on this spot, we come upon with a suddenness that adds greatly to the effect. Time has cloathed the eastern extremity of it, with a thick mantle of ivy, which gives it a venerable appearance: and though it cannot boast any *picturesque beauty*, as an elegant and first-rate judge pronounces* ;

* Gilpin's Forest Scenery, v. II. p. 159.

yet it can hardly fail to impress the mind, with sentiments that will both affect, and improve it. On contemplating its remains, our recollection is involuntarily carried back to the period, when the edifice was reared; and a comparison as readily occurring to us, between the rudeness, ignorance, and superstition, of that age; and the refinement, knowledge, and comforts of the present; we are taught to prize properly the advantages we possess, and mutually to endeavour to encrease and establish them. The fragments too which lie scattered around, whose magnitude and strength have been unable to preserve them from the stroke of time, point out the vanity of human works, and the folly of those who seek the notice of posterity, rather by the erection of perishable edifices, than the ever-verdant mementos of generous deeds, and virtuous actions.

The ruin, of which I am at present speaking, consists of the gavel ends of a vast barn, that belonged to the principal grange of Beaulieu Abbey; called St. Leonard's, from its being dedicated to that Saint. In it was probably deposited, the larger proportion of the yearly produce of the abbatial lands. The dimensions of this barn are as follow; 226 feet in length; seventy-

seventy-seven in breadth ; and upwards of sixty feet in height. The annexed plate, gives an accurate representation of the ruin ; and of a considerable barn, built with the materials of the ancient one, within its end walls.

Within an old stone inclosure, which surrounds this barn, and St. Leonard's farm-house, are the remains of a most beautiful chapel, which must have been finished in the highest style of architectural magnificence. Little however of its pristine glory is now discoverable ; since the ruin has been long applied, to the ignoble purposes of a goose house, and hog sty. The eastern end is the most perfect. The altar piece is supported on each side, by an elegant Gothic niche ; adorned with lateral pinnacles, richly embossed, and a Saracenic arch, crowned with a cross. The window also over the altar piece ; the opposite one at the western end ; and the door-way under it, concur to assure us, this edifice must have been, in its original, and perfect state, an example of exquisite Gothic architecture. As I trace an intimate resemblance between the mouldings, niches, pilasters, &c. of this ruin, and some small fragments which remain of Beaulieu Abbey ; I am inclined to allow to
Park-

Park-chapel, an æra as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, for its erection.

It must be confessed, it requires some degree of self command, to repress indignation, when the recollection of Henry the eighth's barbarism occurs: which could sanction, nay enforce, the destruction of these beautiful, and ornamental works of our ancestors; works, which we can never cease to admire, nor ever hope to imitate.

“ Who sees these dismal heaps but would demand,
 “ What barbarous invader sacked the land?
 “ But when he hears no Goth, no Turk, did bring
 “ This desolation, but a Christian king;
 “ When nothing but the name of zeal appears,
 “ 'Twixt our *best* actions, and the *worst* of theirs;
 “ What does he think our *sacrilege* would spare,
 “ When such th' effects of our *devotion* are?”

The town of Beaulieu, as its name denotes, is pleasingly situated*. Placed in a bottom, it is defended on every side by high grounds covered with woods; and washed by a meandering stream, which winds through it. The beauties of this estuary, are well developed, in an elegant publication, which I have had

* The signification of Beaulieu, or Bellus Locus, as it was formerly called, is fine place.

occasion to hint at, in former parts of this work; and to which I again refer my reader, for information on this, and other picturesque matters*. I shall only observe, that Beaulieu river is stocked with plenty of fish; and boasts, in particular, good *oysters*, and fine *plaise*; is navigable from its mouth to the town, by ships of sixty tons burthen; and fringed quite to the edge of the water, with the most beautiful hanging woods.

The town itself, has no claim to our attention; the only manufacture carried on there, is that of a coarse sacking.

The remains of its superb abbey, the history of which occurs in the ensuing chapter, are on the opposite side of the river, to the north east of the town; a communication with which is formed, by an old wooden bridge. The ancient stone wall that formerly encircled the buildings of the abbey, and which exists in many spots almost entire, though thickly mantled with ivy, measures in circumference, about a mile and a quarter. Few vestiges of this once affluent, and considerable monastery, are

* Gilpin's Forest Scenery, 8vo. 2 vols. 1791.

now to be discerned; and such as remain are in so ruinous a state, that it is difficult to discover their pristine designation.

The entrance into the inclosure, is through an old stone gateway, formerly the station of the *portarius*, or porter. We proceed in a straight direction, to an handsome stone building, nearly square, the ancient residence of the abbot; who generally when the convent was a considerable one, had a mansion apart from it, appropriated to his own use. This edifice is in good preservation; a circumstance which was probably occasioned by its being found to be a comfortable dwelling; and therefore converted into a family-seat, by the grantee, at the dissolution. Over the doorway, or entrance into it, is a neat Gothic canopy, with a niche; in which was formerly placed the image of the blessed Virgin, to whom the abbey of Beaulieu was dedicated. The hall, into which we immediately enter from the porch, is an elegant, and extremely well proportioned room, handsomely arched; the vaulting being supported by stone ribs, (springing from pilasters) which ramify in a very beautiful manner. An apartment of this kind, usually denominated the great arched cham-

chamber*, was common to the mansions of all abbots, and priors; designed, probably, for the better accommodation of those numerous guests, which the hospitality of early times, and monkish manners, so frequently drew together. Perhaps, too, it might be partly meant, for the scene of those amusements, with which the cloistered ecclesiastics endeavoured to relieve the monotony of their lives. Mummeries, gefts, and minstrelfies, were deemed allowable recreations by them†; and greedily enjoyed, whenever opportunities of such gratification occurred. In these cases, as the performers were many, and the auditors numerous, a *large apartment* would be neces-

* *Magna camera arcuata.*

† Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. v. II. p. 174 et infra. In the statutes of *New College Oxford*, given about the year 1380, William of Wykeham its founder, orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days to entertain themselves with songs, &c. the injunction is as follows. *Quando ob dei reverentiam et suæ matris, vel alterius sancti cujuscunque tempore yemali, ignis in aula fociis ministratur; tunc scolaribus et fociis post tempus prandii aut cene, liceat gracia recreationis, in aula, in Cantelenis et aliis solaciis honestis, more facere condecentem; et Poemata, regnorum Chronicas, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que statum clericalem condecorant feriosius pertractare.* Rubric 18. Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. v. I. p. 92.

sary for the accommodation of all; while the notes of the harp would be finely mellowed, and the voice of the reciters, greatly assisted, by the *concavity* of the room, in which they performed. A register of St. Swithin's priory in Winchester is cited by Mr. Warton; in which an account occurs, of an evening's entertainment, in the *great arched chamber of the prior*, wherein six minstrels, and four harpers, performed a *gest*, or tale, to amuse the prior and his company*.

To the east of this edifice is a long building, which, from the size and loftiness of the rooms, I take to have been the *dormitory* of the monastery. Several admirable cellars are to be discovered under it; and the ancient kitchen still remains entire, having an handsome vaulted stone roof, and a most capacious chimney. To the right of this, stands the old refectory; which has been converted,

* In Festo Alwyni episcopi.—Et durante pictancia in aula conventûs sex ministralli cum quatuor citharistadoribus, faciebant ministralcias suas. Et post cenam, in *magna camera arcuata dom. prioris*, cantabant idem *gestum*, in qua camera suspendebatur, ut moris est, magnum *dorsale* (tapestry) prioris, habens picturas trium regum Colein. Registr. S. Swith. Winton. MSS. Perg. in Archiv. de Wolvesey. Winton.

since the reformation, into the parish church of Beaulieu.

Among the many “frail memorials” of human dissolution, that have been erected within its cemetery, was one which perished a few years ago, raised to the memory of Mary Dore, the *parochial witch* of Beaulieu, who died about half a century since. Old John Duke of Montague, who seems to have entertained a great veneration for this wonder working female; covered her remains at his own expence, and surrounded her grave with a neat railing. On this, I understand, an inscription of a curious nature was written by his order, allusive to her magical powers. Time however, or good sense, has removed this monument of the Duke’s superstition, and the remains of Mary Dore repose under a green grass turf, undistinguished by any discriminative mark from the common herd that sleep around her.

It would be a curious speculation, to trace the origin and progress, of that mode of thinking among the northern nations, which gave the faculty of divination to females in ancient ages, and the gift of witchcraft to them in

more modern times*. But leaving this disquisition to those who have leisure to pursue it, it will be enough for us to remark ; so deep a root had this belief taken in our own country, that till within these few years, there was scarcely a parish which had not its local witch, who occasionally amused herself in blasting its corn, destroying its cattle, and teasing its inhabitants with spasms and cramps. Nay widely as the empire of reason is now extended, and universally as intelligence is diffused ; yet still we find the ancient prejudices operating strongly upon the national character ; and many a poor old female bending with infirmities, and worn out with age, is even at present an object of terror to the common people ; and detested or execrated as the supernatural dispenser of evil to her neighbours. It will hardly be credited by future times, that the British legislature of the seventeenth century, passed a law for the prevention and

* The learned reader will receive great satisfaction, in the perusal of a Dissertation by Keyser, intitled, *de Mulieribus Faticis, ad Calc. Antiq. Select. Septen. p. 371.* Much information on the same subject, is to be had also, in *Monf. Mallet's Northern Antiq. v. I.* and in the notes on the *Edda, v. II.*

punishment of witchcraft* ; and the portion of incredulity will be doubled, when it is related that this absurd statute continued in force till the ninth year of George the second†.

The gifted female we are at present speaking of, does not appear to have been a malignant witch, “ a black and midnight hag,” that exerted her *Canidian* powers to the injury and discomposure of those around. Her spells were chiefly used for the purpose of self extrication in situations of danger ; and I have conversed

* James the 1st, who has been dignified with the appellation of the English Solomon, from his supposed sagacity and intelligence ; was so fully persuaded of the existence of witchcraft, and magic, that he published a treatise expressly written on the subject, intitled *Dæmonologie*. The senate also, infected with the same superstitious notions, enacted a law against the practice of these arts. See Stat. 1st, James 1st, c. 12. Which law inflicted the punishment of *death* on any person that should use any invocation or conjuration of any evil spirit ; or should consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward, any evil, or cursed spirit, to or for any intent or purpose—or take up any dead man, woman, or child, out of the grave, or the skin, bone, or any part of the dead person, to be employed, or used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment ; or should use, practise, or exercise, any sort of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment, whereby any person should be destroyed, killed, wasted, consumed, pined or lamed in any part of the body.

† Blackstone's Commentaries, v. IV. p. 61.

with a rustic, whose father had *seen* the old lady convert herself more than once, into the form of an hare, or cat, when likely to be apprehended in wood-stealing, to which she was somewhat addicted.

The church is a plain, stone edifice, without ornament, except what it derives from a curious oak-raftered roof; which has a considerable, and apparently, a dangerous inclination to the southward. This is embossed at the intersections of the ribs, with various uncouth pieces of sculpture representing abbots heads, angels with shields, a woman's head dress of the thirteenth century, the arms of Beaulieu, and the following arms. Two chevrons between three roses—a shield with a cross engrailed—a ditto with a plain cross. The church is exactly thirty geometrical paces in length; it contains no tombs of any antiquity, as it did not serve the purposes of public worship, till the middle of the sixteenth century. There is indeed a flat stone with certain Saxon characters engraven around it; time however has only spared the three following words, “Jesu Crist omnipotent.” This was discovered in the fields, to the east of the church, some years ago, and supposed to cover (when in its original situation) the remains of Isabella,
the

the third daughter of William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, wife of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester; and afterwards, wife of Richard Plantagenet second son of King John. This lady died in child-birth on the eighteenth day of February 1239, at the manor of Berkhamsted, part of her husband's possessions*; and her body was brought from thence, and deposited at Beaulieu; probably, because the Earl had been a benefactor to that monastery. Two or three other flat monumental stones occur likewise in the present parish church, which have been also removed from the fields, and by their sculptured ornaments, seem to have been intended to commemorate some of the abbots of Beaulieu.

An example of the *sepulchral acrostic*, a species of false wit formerly much in vogue, is to be met with in Beaulieu-church. The object in these performances was, to weave a string of verses, the initial letters of which composed the name of the person whom they were intended to commemorate. The one I allude to is as follows.

* Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, p. 223. Prima Uxor (Elizabeth) Ricardi ducis cornubiæ, et imperatoris, sepulta in choro. Lelandi Collect. v. IV. p. 149. The heart of Richard himself was afterwards deposited here in a marble vase. Idem.

TO THE LASTING MEMORY OF MARY, DAUGHTER OF THOMAS ELLIOT GENT, AND LAE WIFE OF WILL: D'O:

SHE DYED IN CHILDBIRTH THE XVIIJ DAY OF JUNE ANNO DNI 1651 ÆTATIS SUÆ 40.

MERCLES FAE (TO OUR GREATE GRÈFE AND WO)
 A PREY HATH HERE MADE, OF OUR DEERE MAIL DO.
 RAKTE UP IN DUST, AND HD IN EARTH AND CLAYE
 YET LIVE HER SOULE, AND VIRTUES, NOW AND AYE:
 DEATH IS A DEBE ALL OWE, WHICH MUST BE PAIDE,
 O H THAT SHE KNEWE, AND OFT*, WAS NOT AFRAIDE.

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.
 SED VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.

In the infide of Beaulieu-church, on the west fide, elevated about a dozen feet above the floor, is a *rostrum* or pulpit, of a demi-octagonal form. The ascent to this, is by a flight of stone steps curiously arched, and ribbed over head, and enlightened by several apertures, looking into the church, in the form of Gothic arches. To explain the use of this rostrum, it will be necessary to recur

* *Oft*, of it.

to the original designation of the building which contains it. Let it be understood then, that the present church, was formerly the apartment in which the monks of Beaulieu assembled to eat their meals; and from thence had the name of *refectorium*. The ordinances which regulated the discipline of these ecclesiastics, strove to blend instruction with every office and employment of their lives: so much so, that even the hours of repast were not suffered to glide away, without the administration of intellectual, as well as corporeal refection*. To this intent the following injunction was inserted in the benedictine regulations. “ Let the reader of the refectory, “ after prayers, carry the proper books into “ that apartment. Let him stand before his “ book, with his face turned towards the east. “ When the brethren bow, at the gloria Patri, “ and the Lord’s prayer, let the reader also “ incline himself, turning his face towards

* “ Cum acceditis ad mensam, donec inde surgatis, quod vobis “ secundum consuetudinem legitur, sine tumultu et contenhonibus “ audite; ne solæ vobis fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures esu- “ riant dei verbum;” was one of the rules of Saint Augustine, for the Canons of that order. Mon. Ang. in Pref. tom. II.

“ the assembly. The reader should not seat
 “ himself till the head of the convent is seated.
 “ Let him read historical books with a sono-
 “ rous voice; but homilies, and sermons, with
 “ a more gentle and engaging one*.”

This passage explains to us the use of the pulpit above described; which was intended for the reception of the reader, who from thence gave a portion of history or divinity, to the monks that were seated at their dinner below.

Nothing can well be imagined more gloomy or formal, than these conventual meals, if they were strictly regulated by the following ordinances, which it was intended they should be.

“ When we enter the refectory, let us un-
 “ cover our heads; and approaching our seats,
 “ let us incline our bodies to the cross. So
 “ also in the refectory, we should not behave

* Lector refectorii post capitulum libros portat in refectorium. Lector stat ad librum versa facie ad orientem. Inclinate conventu ad gloria patri, et ad pater noster, inclinatur et ipse, versa facie ad conventum. Nec debet autem sedere, donec sedeat ille qui præest conventui. Historiam legat *rotundius*; sermones et homelias *attractius*. Mon. Ang. tom. II. p. 955.

“ idly,

“ idly, but demean ourselves with propriety,
 “ lest we be an offence to any of our brethren.
 “ It behoves us likewise, to keep our eyes
 “ fixed, when we are in this apartment, lest
 “ any occasion of murmuring, quarrelling, or
 “ laughing be given; according to the saying
 “ of the blessed Hugh of Lincoln”—“ Let us
 “ have our eyes and hands upon the table,
 “ our ears with the reader, and our hearts
 “ with God*.”

“ When we drink, let us hold the cup with
 “ both our hands†.

“ It is improper for us to cleanse our
 “ mouths, or hands, with the napkin, in the
 “ refectory. We should not put our platters
 “ from us, till the president has put away

* Intrantes refectorium nudamus capita, et venientes ad sedes nostras, ad enicem inclinamus. Item in refectorio non debemus dissoluti esse, sed nos debemus habere disciplinatè, ne faciamus unde alterum offendamus. Et oculos nostros maxime in refectorio tenere nos convenit, ne nobis murmurandi, aut judicandi, vel detrahendi, materiam offerant, aut ridendi. Sic dicens beatus Hugo Lincolnienfis, oculos in disco, manus in mensa, aures ad Lectionem, cor ad deum habere debemus. In Introduc. Mon. Ang. tom. II. et p. 955.

† Bibentes, duabus manibus cistum tenemus.

“ his ;

“ his; nor let us roll up our napkins, until
 “ the prior, or abbot, has rolled up his*.

A little to the north-east of the *refectory*, stood the *abbey church*, of which not a vestige is now remaining above ground; and its scite is only ascertained by heaps of rubbish, and fragments of decayed tombs, which are found on digging about the spot. The *cloysters* enclosed a quadrilateral area, of about a quarter of an acre; a space now occupied by a garden. Some traces of them may be discerned, from which we are taught to lament the loss of the other parts. The mouldings also, of the great gateway, at the west end of this garden; its clustering pillars, rich capitals, and highly finished arch, are further attestations of the ancient magnificence of Beaulieu-abbey; which must have been a pile, remarkable not only for its extent and magnitude, but for being finished in the highest stile of architecture, which the thirteenth century could boast.

The ruin behind the garden, has been hitherto considered, as the remains of the con-

* Contra consuetudinem est ut in refectorio manus vel os ad mantile tergamus. Scutellas non exponimus, donec præfident suam exponat. Mantilia non convolvimus donec prior suum mantile convolvat. Mon. Ang. ut supra.

ventual church : but with great impropriety ; since I am persuaded it was erected for very different purposes, than those of social worship. It comprised in my opinion, the offices appertaining to the monastery ; and particularly, the apartment in which the monks of Beaulieu manufactured their wine : for that they prepared this beverage themselves, I think may be proved beyond controversy. That it was designed for something of this kind, is evident from a *dorsum*, or bank, which runs from it in a strait line, and northern direction, for about seventy yards. This, on inspection, has been found to be a ruinous aqueduct, which communicating with a spring at a small distance from the building, conveyed into it a copious stream of water ; a circumstance that is quite unaccountable if we suppose it to have been a church.

As it is however a doubt with some, whether wines were manufactured of old in this country, or not, I throw together the following few notices on the subject, which perhaps may remove our hesitation, and lead us to credit the fact, of Beaulieu-abbey having formerly made part at least, if not the whole, of what it consumed.

The

The *vine* was first introduced into this kingdom by the Emperor *Probus*, as is asserted by Cambden; and it is reasonable to suppose, the mode of converting its juice into a pleasant and exhilarating beverage, was either at the same time imported, or soon after practised by the Britons*.

The *ancient* Saxons who confessedly expressed a kind of ale from barley†, would doubtless use the same process with respect to the vine, when they settled themselves in England, and found this tree propagated to their hands.

That the *later* Saxons knew the use of the wine press, is demonstrated by evidence incontrovertible‡.

We have equally respectable authority also, for asserting, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, wine was manufactured in Essex§.

William of Malmfbury assures us, that the wines made in Gloucestershire, were far supe-

* See Cambden's Britan. in Hants.

† Cæsar. Tacitus.

‡ See in Strutt's Horda Angel Cynnan, v. I. plate 7. fig. 1. The representation of a Saxon wine press, taken from a MS. of the eighth century.

§ See Domesday-book under the head Excessa,

rior to any other of the English ones; a fact he declares on his own experience*.

An old MS. roll mentioned by Stowe, ascertains the manufacture of wines here, in the fourteenth century. “ In which roll, says he, “ among other things, is to be seene the “ yeerely account of the charges of the plant- “ ing of vines; that in the time of Richard “ the second, which grew in great plenty “ within the little park, as also of the wine “ itself; whereof some part was spent in the “ King’s house, and some part sold to his “ profit; the tythes whereof were payed to “ the abbot of Waltham, then parson both “ of old, and newe Windfore†.”

And not to multiply authorities, an old English writer on farming and gardening, gives us the following curious circumstances, on the subject in question. “ We might have a rea- “ sonable good wine growyng in many places “ of this realme: as undoubtedly wee had “ immediately after the conquest; tyll partly “ by slouthfulnesse, not liking any thing long “ that is painefull, partly by civill discord

* Guliel. Malm. lib. IV. de Pontif.

† Stowe’s Chronicle.

“ long continuing, it was left, and so with
 “ tyme lost, as appeareth by a number of
 “ places in this realme, that keepe still the
 “ name of vineyardes; and upon many cliffes,
 “ and hilles, are yet to be sene the rootes,
 “ and olde remaynes of vines. There is be-
 “ sides Nottingham, an auncient house called
 “ Chilwell, in which house remaineth yet,
 “ as an auncient monument, in a great wyn-
 “ dowe of glasse, the whole order of planting,
 “ prunyng, stamping, and pressing of vines.
 “ Beside, there is yet growing an old vine,
 “ that yields a grape sufficient to make a right
 “ good wine, as was lately proved. There
 “ hath, moreover, good experience of late
 “ yeeres been made, by two noble and hono-
 “ rable barons of this realme, the Lorde Cob-
 “ ham, and the Lorde Wylliams of Fame,
 “ who had both, growyng about their houses,
 “ as good wyne as are in many parts of
 “ France*.”

But after all, the strongest proof of the fact I
 wish to establish, is, the name of some fields
 lying to the north of the building just men-

* Barnabie Googe's *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*, &c. London
 1578. 4to. “ To the Reader.”

tioned,

tioned, on a gentle declivity, and in a warm, southern exposition: these grounds are called even now "*the vineyards.*" And I am informed by Mr. Warner, (the land-steward of Lord Beaulieu, whose obliging communications, I take this opportunity of acknowledging) that he has in his cellars at this hour a small quantity of brandy made about seventy years ago, from the vines then growing on this spot*.

In the area inclosed within the surrounding stone wall, are distinct traces of various fish-ponds, and stews, formed for the use of the convent. Some of these continue perfect to the present day, and abound with fish. A curious instance occurs also at Beaulieu, of monkish luxury, even in the article of water; to secure a fine spring of which element, these monastics spared neither trouble, nor expence. About half a mile to the south-east of the abbey, in a deep wood, and at a spot almost inaccessible; is a cove formed

* Home made wines, from dried *foreign fruit*, were first attempted, and brought into use here, in 1635; by one Francis Chamberlayne, who obtained a patent for their manufacture, which was to endure fourteen years. See Rymer's Fœd. v. XIX. p. 719.

of smooth stones. It has a very contracted entrance, but spreads, gradually, into a little apartment, of seven feet wide, ten deep, and about five high. This covers a copious, and transparent spring of water, which, issuing from the mouth of the cove, is lost in a deep dell, and there received, as I have been informed, by a chain of small stone pipes; which formerly, when perfect, conveyed it quite to the abbey.

It must be confessed, the monks in general displayed an elegant taste in the choice of their situations. Beaulieu-abbey is a striking proof of this. Perhaps few spots in the kingdom could have been pitched upon, better calculated for monastic seclusion than this. The deep woods with which it is almost environed, throw an air of gloom and solemnity over the scene, well suited to excite religious emotions: while the stream that glides by its side, afforded to the recluse, a striking emblem of human life; and at the same time that it soothed his mind by a gentle murmuring, led it to serious thought, by its continual and irrevocable lapse. It is a spot indeed, which one cannot leave without reluctance; where one might covet to wear away existence, abstracted like the
monk

monk of old from the world, its cares and concerns, did we not reflect that *solitary virtue* has a claim but to *negative excellence*, and that no life can be pleasing to the Almighty, which is not useful and beneficial to man*.

—————“ Here methinks,
 “ E’en here, sequester’d from the noisy world,
 “ Could I wear out this transitory being
 “ In peaceful contemplation, and calm ease.
 “ But conscience, which still censures on our acts,
 “ That awful voice within us, and the sense
 “ Of an hereafter, wake, and rouse us up
 “ From such unshap’d retirement; which were else
 “ A blest condition on this earthly stage.
 “ For who would make his life a life of toil
 “ For wealth, o’erbalanc’d with a thousand cares;
 “ Or power, which base compliance must uphold;
 “ Or honor, lavish’d most on courtly slaves;

* This was a truth known, and acknowledged by the ancient moralists, who held the active exercise of social benevolence to be more amiable, more useful, and more consistent with nature, than the quiescence of solitary virtue. Itemque, says Cicero, magis est secundum naturam, pro omnibus gentibus (si fieri possit) conservandis aut juvandis, maximos labores molestiasque suscipere, imitantem Herculem illum, quem hominum fama, beneficiorum memor, in concilio cælestium conlocavit; quam vivere in solitudine, non modo sine ullis molestiis, sed etiam in maximis voluptatibus, abundantem omnibus copiis: ut excellas etiam pulchritudine, et viribus. Quocirca optimo quisque et splendidissimo ingenio longe illam vitam huic anteponit. Cic. de Offic. l. III. c. 5.

" Or fame, vain breath of a misjudging world;
 " Who for such perishable gaudes, would put
 " A yoke upon his free, unbroken spirit,
 " And gall himself with trammels, and the rubs
 " Of this world's business; so he might stand clear
 " Of judgment, and the tax of idleness
 " In that dread audit, when his mortal hours
 " (Which now with soft, and silent stealth pace by)
 " Must all be counted for? But, for this fear,
 " And to remove, according to our pow'r,
 " The wants and evils of our brother's state,
 " 'Tis meet we juggle with the world; content,
 " If by our sovereign master we be found
 " At last not profitless; for wordly meed,
 " Given, or with-held, I deem of it alike."

Crowe's Lewesdon Hill.

C H A P. VI.

*The History of Beaulieu Abbey. Its Sanctuary,
and other Privileges. Beaulieu Manor.
Particulars respecting Netley Abbey.*

IN the year one thousand two hundred and four, the fifth of John's reign, that monarch founded an abbey in the New-forest, at a place called Bellus Locus or Beaulieu, and placed therein thirty monks, which he brought from the house of St. Mary at Cistertium, or Citeaux, in France*. The reasons which impelled John to this act of *piety* (as it was then considered), are not easily to be conjectured. His known dislike to the clergy, renders any deeds of kindness to them rather extraordinary; and the monks availing themselves of the singularity which attends this

* Anno Millesimo ducentesimo quarto Johannes Rex construxit quandam abbatiam in Nova Foresta quæ vocitatur Bellus Locus, et conventum triginta monachorum fecit adduci de domo Cisterciensi Ex Chron. S. Benedict. de Hulmo in Bib Cott. A. 1204. apud Mon. Ang. tom. I. p. 926.

exception to his general oppressive and contumelious conduct towards churchmen ; recur to their commodious system of miraculous interposition, for an explanation of it. The legend is as follows. “ The King being beyond measure, though without cause, enraged at the abbots, and monks of the Cistercian order, after various oppressive measures, summoned the heads of the order, to a parliament which he held at Lincoln. They obey the summons, flattering themselves, he at last relented, and would confer on them now, some marks of his grace. But instead of this, as soon as he beheld them, the savage monarch ordered the abbots to be trodden to death by horses. None of his attendants however, being found sufficiently cruel to obey the bloody command ; the ecclesiastics, dreadfully alarmed, and despairing of any favor from John, retired hastily to their inn. In the course of the ensuing night, when the monarch slumbered on his bed ; he dreamt that he was led before a judge, around whom, the Cistercian abbots were standing ; which judge ordered the monks, to stripe the back of the King severely, with rods and thongs ;

“ a beating,

“ a beating, of which he declared he felt the
 “ effects, when he awoke the next morning.
 “ This dream he related to a certain eccle-
 “ siastic of his court, the priest assured him,
 “ that the Almighty had been above measure
 “ kind and merciful to him, who had thought
 “ fit to afford this paternal correction in the
 “ present life, and to reveal to him the mys-
 “ teries of his dispensations. He therefore
 “ advised John, to send immediately for the
 “ abbots, whom he had hitherto cruelly
 “ treated; and humbly to crave pardon of
 “ them for his barbarous conduct. The King
 “ adopting this counsel, ordered the abbots
 “ instantly to attend him; a message which
 “ they received, with fear and trembling,
 “ thinking they should now certainly be ba-
 “ nished from the kingdom. God however,
 “ who will never forsake his servants, had
 “ ordered things otherwise. And the King
 “ instead of venting his indignation upon
 “ them, as they feared, received them with
 “ kindness, and complacency*.”

Shortly after this event, John granted a
 charter for the foundation of Beaulieu-abbey;

* Mon. Ang. tom. I. p. 926. et Appendix N^o. 11.

endowing it with a large tract of country in its neighbourhood ; together with the manors of great Farendon, and little Farendon ; great Cokeſwell, and little Cokeſwell ; the villages of Schulton, and Ingleſham ; the churches of the ſame places ; the chapel of Cokeſwell, and part of the village of Langeford ; all in Berkhire. Exempting it, at the ſame time, from the multifarious ſuits, ſervices, tolls, taxes, and impoſitions, exacted and levied on grantees or tenants in the feudal times ; diſafforeſting the tract of land thus conferred, throwing it out of the regard of the foreſt-officers, and diſtinguiſhing the abbey with many other privileges and immunities*. By a writ alſo directed to his treaſurer, he ordered a payment to be made to the monks, of one hundred marks, towards the erection of their monaſtery† ; and he further iſſued his commands to the abbots of all other Ciftercian houſes, to

* See the Charter of John fully recited Appen. N^o. 6.

† Rex, &c. W. Theſaurario, &c. Liberate de Theſauro noſtro abbati de Bello Loco in Nova-foreſta 100 Marc. ad abbatram noſtram conſtruendam, ad terminos, quos vobis dicerit Dominus Norvic. &c. Filius Petri, et Petrus de Rupe. T. Meipſo apud Behill 23 Oct^r. Clauf. 6. John. M. 13.

affiſt,

assist, to the utmost of their power, the monks of Beaulieu, in compleating the work*.

In the year previous to this grant, some monks happening to fix at Farendon, in Berkshire, John had granted the whole of that manor to the head house of St. Mary at Cistercium; upon condition, that an abbey should be immediately built within it, for the accommodation of these ecclesiastics†. But when he had determined to found a convent of the same order at Beaulieu, in the ensuing year; he retracted his donation to the foreign monastery, and transferred it, as is above observed, to the new one at Beaulieu; making the house at Farendon, a cell, or in other words, subordinate to it‡.

* Rex, &c. omnibus abbatibus Cisterc. &c. Rogamus vos attentius, quatenus intuitu dei, auxilium faciatis novæ abbatiæ nostræ de Bello Loco, in Nova-forestâ, quam de ordine vestro ibidem inchoavimus, ad eam de averiis instaurendam: et quod ei, singuli vestrum, inde fuerint, nobis per literas vestras significetis. T. &c. apud Wigorn. 16. die, &c. Idem M. 19. in Dorso.

† See Appendix N^o. 2.

‡ See Appendix N^o. 6. Tanner's Notitia Monastica in Bello Loco. It was at Beaulieu that King John deposited the remains of his mother Queen Elinor after her decease. Rosse of Warwick, p. 197.

The magnificent scale on which John erected the abbey of Beaulieu occasioned so large an expence, that at the conclusion of the work, notwithstanding the numerous prebends which had been granted towards defraying the charges, the warm assistance of other Cistercian houses, and the pious donations of religious persons, the sum of four thousand marks remained undischarged. This considerable debt was made a plea by the monks for requesting the impropriation of the church and chapel of Cokewell, in Berkshire; a solicitation that was backed by Henry the third; and granted by the authority of a papal bull. (See Appendix N° 9).

The same prince in the twentieth year of his reign, confirmed all the grants of his predecessor John, to this monastery. Adding to the privileges therein contained, that of levying a tax on the manor of Farendon, as often as the King taxed his own demesnes; the liberty of free warren throughout the said manor; and of holding fairs, and markets therein, on stated days*.

* See Append. N°. 4. 5. 6. This manor, hundred, fairs, market, and other liberties were granted to Sir Francis Englefield, 2d Mariæ. Tan. Not. Monast.

All which privileges are recapitulated and confirmed by Edward the third, in the second year of his reign*.

About

* See Append. N^o. 6. The same king grants in the 20th year of his reign, to the abbey of Beaulieu, one ton of prisage wine, to be delivered between Christmas and Candlemas, annually, for the celebration of mass, in the abbey of Beaulieu aforesaid. See Appendix N^o. 12. which grant was released to the corporation of Southampton in the 6th year of James Ist. “ James by the grace
“ of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come Greet-
“ ing. Know ye that we for divers good causes and considera-
“ tions us thereunto especially movinge, of our especiall grace,
“ certayne knowledge, and meere motion, Have given and
“ granted, and by these presents for us our heires and successors,
“ Doe give and grant unto our well-beloved subjects the maior,
“ bailiffs and burgeses of the towne of Southampton, All and
“ every those the same s^uche and soe many our tonnes and
“ other porcions of prisage wines to be yearly, and from tyme to
“ tyme had and taken out of all everie the prisage wyne comynge
“ or growinge in the saide towne of Southampton, or in the
“ porte of the same towne, which were heretofore granted or
“ payable or used to be paid or delyvered by any of our proge-
“ nitors or predecessors kings of this our realme of England, or
“ by any our or their butlers of England, or any other our or
“ their officers, or by any other person or persons, bodies po-
“ litique or corporate whatsoever, for us or them or any of them
“ yearly and everie yeare unto any late abbots and convents of
“ the late severall monasteries or abbies of Bewley, Letley, Titch-
“ field, and Waverley, or any of them, or to any late prior or
“ convent of the late priory of St. Denis, and which tonnes, and
“ other porcions of prisage wyne, were late parcell of the fe-
“ verale

About this period Pope Innocent received the convent of Beaulieu, under the protection of the apostolical see ; and by his bull, conferred on its members several great ecclesiastical privileges : such as that of *sanctuary* ; an exemption from the payment of tithes ; from the attendance on episcopal synods, or courts ; together with a power of electing their abbot, and regulating the affairs of their convent, without the interference of the diocesan. These, and a variety of other privileges, and immunities, which may be seen in the appendix, were enjoyed by this monastery at the disso-

“ verale possessions of the said severale monasteries, abbies, and
 “ priories, and are now in our handes and possession,” &c.
 Quarta Pars Patent. An. 6mo. Reg. Jac. The above release of
 this ancient donation of wine, to the aforesaid monasteries, was
 granted to the corporation of Southampton, in consequence of a
 petition from the mayor and burgeses, who had been sued by
 quo warranto in 1608, by the prisage master (one Mr. Birch-
 meare) for the arrears of these five tons of wine ; which had
 never been paid since the dissolution, though being at that period,
 the goods of the church, they had returned into the hands of the
 king, to whom they were still due. The above mentioned far-
 mer of the prisage, recovered a sum of five thousand marks from
 the corporation ; and this circumstance induced the petition which
 procured the exemption from paying these five tons for the future.
 From a MS. of the late Dr. Speed, obligingly communicated to
 me, by the Rev. Mr. Speed of Eling near Southampton.

lution ;

lution; and are, for the most part, claimed at this day, by the possessors of the Beaulieu estate.

No less than forty years elapsed, from the time of the foundation, to the completion and dedication of Beaulieu abbey. In the year 1246 this ceremony took place. The solemnity was performed with great state, on the festival of St. John the baptist: King Henry and his Queen, Richard Earl of Cornwall his brother, several prelates, and a long retinue of nobility, being present on the occasion*. Matthew Paris, indeed, has been guilty of a chronological inaccuracy, by assigning *two dates* to this event. The one just mentioned, and another later period, viz. the year 1250. In the last account he is rather more circumstantial than in the former; assuring us, the abbot expended at the dedication upwards of five hundred marks; and that King Henry pleased with the splendor of the entertainment remitted to him a great fine, which he had incurred by a trespass on the forest†.

* Matthew Paris, page 620. 46.

† Matthew Paris, page 667. 19.

I have but an imperfect list of the abbots of Beaulieu to offer to the reader; as but little occurs respecting this monastery, either in print or manuscript.

Hugh was the first abbot.

Hugh secundus*.

Arius de Gizors.

Dionifius, who died in 1280†.

William de Gizortio, elected May 9th 1281. He was cellarer of the convent at the time of his election‡.

Robert de Bocklande.

Peter de Chicestre.

William de Hameldune.

John —

Walter Herring - - - 1372§.

Tidemanus de Winchcomb; he was translated to the bishoprick of Landaff, from the abbacy of Beaulieu, in 1393||.

Richard de Middletune - 1394.

William Sudbury - - 1425.

* Browne Willis's Mitred Abbies, v. II. 204.

† Angla Sacra. tom. I. p. 505.

‡ Idem.

§ Willis's Addit. ad Calc. Tanner's Notitia Monast.

|| Godwin de Præful. p. 609.

William Woburn - - 1429.

Humphry - - - 1490.

Thomas Skeffington, Bishop of Bangor, held this abbey in commendam.

John Browning resigned the abbacy in the year 1536*. He was succeeded by

Thomas Stephens the last abbot, who surrendered the convent and its possessions to Henry the eighth, the 2d April, 29th year of his reign†.

The prelude to the dissolution of the greater monasteries, (that is, such as possessed a clear yearly income of more than two hundred pounds) took place in the 27th year of Henry the eighth, when a motion was made in parliament, that all the lesser religious houses might be conferred on the King for the supply of his wants. The reason of his thus begin-

* Browne Willis in Append. v. II. p. 335.

† This appears from the instrument of surrender, now preserved in the augmentation office. "Most certain it is, a general
" intimation was given to all houses, how acceptable an act of
" resignation would be to the king. It was also pressed upon the
" said monks, friars, and nuns, that they (through their vicious-
" nesse) being obnoxious to the king's anger, this might, and
" would be done, without their consent; so that it was better for
" them, *rebus sic stantibus*, to make a virtue of necessity," &c.
Fuller's Church Hist. p. 319. book 4.

ning with the least productive part of the spoil, was sufficiently obvious, since, as Fuller observes, “ King Henry could not suppress the
 “ lesser abbeyes but by the consent of the
 “ *greater abbots*, whereof *twenty-six*, as barons, voted in parliament, who mollified
 “ them by this commendation, into a concurrence with his desire.” Having however obtained the desired end, the all-grasping hand of Henry quickly extended itself to the greater monasteries; and partly by persuasion, partly by menaces, prevailed upon the different heads of houses, and their monks, to sign formal deeds, surrendering all their possessions to the King. The instrument by which the abbot of Beaulieu, and his fraternity, granted away their large domains, is in existence at present, in the augmentation office*. It is dated the second day of April, in the twenty-ninth year

* This deed is authenticated by the seal of the monastery of Beaulieu depending at its bottom. It is of red wax. It represents three rich Gothic canopies; under the middle one are the figures of the virgin and child; and under the lateral ones, are holy persons in the posture of adoration; below these, at the foot of the seal, are the arms of Beaulieu, a crozier passed through a crown; and around the seal is the following inscription: “ Sigillum
 “ commune monasterii belli loci Regis.”

of Henry's reign; and has the signatures of Thomas Stephens the abbot, and the following twenty monks, in the left hand margin of the deed.

Griffin Hunt,	Simon Kychen,
Thomas Seale,	Thomas Galbye,
Richard Frye,	John Somerfield,
William Coventre,	Thomas Burtun,
Walter Partholo,	Lawrence Parker,
John Kerrye,	William Austin,
William Baskerlye,	Roger Dorchester,
Harman Hamtun,	Robert Newton,
Alexander Allen,	Richard Curlew,
Robert Pykton,	Thomas Whyatt.

This list however does not seem to include *all* the monks of Beaulieu at the æra of the surrender; since several other names occur among those who are enumerated as receiving pensions, reserved out of the revenues of the monastery, as we shall presently see. To account for the omission of these names in the marginal signatures, we must suppose, either, that such monks were absent at the time of the execution of the deed, or that they were unable to *write* their own names, a circumstance by no means uncommon with the voluptuous,

voluptuous, and indolent inhabitants of the cloister.

In the public repository above mentioned is preserved also, a thick manuscript, written on vellum, containing an account of all the *pensions* granted by King Henry the eighth, to the sufferers at the dissolution. Among others, occur the following minutes respecting Beaulieu.

A grant of an annual pension of one hundred marks, to be paid to Thomas Stephens the abbot, for the term of his life, or until he shall have further promotion.

To Thomas Galbye £4. To John Somerfield £4. To Harman Hamtun £5. To William Coventre £6. To Robert Pykton £4. To Richard Curlew £5. To William Baskerlye £5. To Richard Guildford £5. To John Kerry £5. To Thomas Seale £6. Besides these reservations, there remained in charge in 1553, five pounds in fees, and £15. 8s. 8d. in annuities*. According to Sir William Dugdale, the yearly revenue of Beaulieu

* Willis's History of Mitred Abbies, v. II. p. 204.

amounted

amounted at the dissolution to £326. 13s. 2d. but according to Speed to £428. 6s. 8d*.

If, notwithstanding what has been said, it still be supposed, that at the dissolution the monastery of Beaulieu consisted but of twenty monks, and the abbot; yet I am confident, the number of its inmates had been considerably larger, in earlier times. This appears both from the magnitude of the convent, which was calculated to accommodate a numerous fraternity; and from an actual *census* (in a Bodleian MS) made apparently about the middle of the fifteenth century, which enumerates upwards of *thirty* names of monks, at that time resident in the abbey, and seems to have contained many more, which are now illegible. The same fragment of antiquity supplies a few other particulars, relative to the domestic history, and œconomy of Beaulieu monastery. The following extracts will throw some light on the ceremony which was observed, when a layman was desirous of enrolling himself, among the conventual ecclesiastics. The chapter being assembled, consisting of the

* Tanner's Notitia Mon.

abbot, and all the monks, the candidate for the cowl addressed himself in the following humble manner to the company.

“ Syr, I besyche you, and alle the covent
 “ heare assemblyd, for the luffe of God, our
 “ Ladye Sante Marye, the bleffyd Jesu, Sancte
 “ John Baptiste, and alle the hoolye compag-
 “ nie of hevyn, that ze wolde resave me, to
 “ lyve and dye heare among yow, in the state
 “ of a monke, as prebendarye, and servant
 “ unto alle, to the honour of God Almitye,
 “ solace to the covent, prouffet to the abbey,
 “ and helth unto my sawle.”

The petitioner was then examined as to his life, morals, and religion; and if nothing objectionable appeared in either, the rules of the order, to the brotherhood of which he aspired, were read to him, and he promised to observe them in the following terms.

“ Syr, I truste through the helpe of God,
 “ and youre gode prayers, to kepe alle thes
 “ thynges whyche ze have now heare reher-
 “ fede unto me.”

His noviciate, or year of trial now commenced. If he passed through this period to the satisfaction of himself, and the convent, ano-
 ther

ther chapter was affembled, and a second petition read by the candidate.

“ Syr, I have bene heyr now this twell-
 “ month nere hande, and lovyde be God, me
 “ lyks ryght wel, both the order, and the
 “ compaignye of the place; wherupon I be-
 “ fyche yow and all the compaignye, for the
 “ luffe of God, oure Ladye Sancte Marye, the
 “ bleffyd Jesu, Sancte John Baptiste, and alle
 “ the hoolye compaignye of hevyne, that ze
 “ will refave mee unto my professiō at my
 “ twellmonth day, accordyng to my petycion
 “ whych I made whan I was in the furste
 “ refaved amongs you heyre*.”

This being granted, the ceremony of *profes-
 sion* was gone through on the appointed day,
 the habit was received, and the candidate be-
 came a *monk*.

To say the truth, we cannot wonder that
 the monastic life should be so generally fol-
 lowed during the dark times of superstition,
 as it was; there is cause rather for admiration,
 that convents were not more multiplied, than
 we find to have been the case; since they
 held out such seducing temptations to the idle,

* Ex Cod. MS. apud Bib. Bod. Oxon.

the profligate, and the sensual. In possession of the confidence and veneration of a laity profoundly ignorant, whose fears they could at pleasure command, the monks acquired a degree of dominion over the human mind during the middle ages, which can scarcely be imagined. Fenced round by privileges and immunities of the most extraordinary nature, they passed their own lives, either in the vacuity of indolence, or in the practice of sensual indulgences; while the deluded crowd around were kept in awe by the terrors of a gloomy superstition; and such of them as were refractory, brought to order by the dread of an *excommunication*, which involved the anathematized, in punishments both temporal and eternal, of the most fearful nature. The following formula, is the sentence of excommunication in old English, which occurs in the abovementioned MS. and is inserted there, as a precedent for the abbot of Beaulieu whenever he might have occasion to wield that dreadful weapon.

“ By the auctorite of Almyghtye God, and
 “ our blessyd Ladye Sancte Marye, and of al
 “ the compaignye of heven, of angelis, arch-
 “ angelis, patriarkes, prophetes, apostolis,
 “ evange-

“ evangelistes, martyres, virgins, and con-
 “ fessors; and alsoe by the powere of the al
 “ hoolye churche, that oure lord Jesu Christ
 “ gave to Sancte Petor, prince of the apostolis,
 “ and to her successeores in God, and by aucto-
 “ ritye of this present maundate, direct to me,
 “ and us, we pronounce A. B. openlye, and
 “ absolutelye to be accursid and dampnid;
 “ soe that he be depertid from God, and
 “ hoolye chirche, and have no meritt of Cristes
 “ deth, and hoolye passion, nor of no sacra-
 “ mentes that be don yn hoole chirche, nor
 “ parte of prayers or gode deedes among cris-
 “ ten peple; but that he shal be of God
 “ acursid, slepyng, wakyng, stondyng, fyt-
 “ tyng, goyng, etyng, fastyng, and yn al
 “ other werkes; and yf he have not grace
 “ of God, to com to gode amendment here
 “ in thys lyfe, he shal dwel in the endless
 “ paines of hel forever withowten end. Fiat.
 “ Fiat. Fiat. Amen. Amen. Amen*.

Leland the antiquarian, who was fortunate-
 ly authorized by Henry the eighth, just at the
 æra of the dissolution, to inspect the libraries,

* Ex Eod. MS. In Leland's Collectan. v. V. p. 300, may be
 found a form of excommunication in old English, somewhat
 similar to the above.

and archives of the different religious houses, and to select, or transcribe from them, whatever he thought fit; included Beaulieu Abbey in his tour. The rubbish which he found in its library, was of the following kind.

Edmerus the monk; of the life of Archbishop Anselm.

The life of Bishop Wilfrid.

Stephanus on Ecclesiasticus.

Stephanus on the book of Kings.

Stephanus on the parables of Solomon.

John Abbot of Forde on the Canticles.

Damascenus on the acts of Baalam and Josaphat.

A small book of Candidus Appian.

A ditto of Victorinus the Retorician against Candidus.

Three books of Claudian, respecting the state of the soul, to Sidonius Appollinaris.

Gislebertus on the Epistles of Paul*.

Tradition

* Lelandi Collect. v. IV. p. 149. The following little epigrammatical stanza, is an example of the talent for poetry possessed by one of the Beaulieu monks. Its quaintness, and sarcastic turn, favour strongly of the cloister. It occurs in a register, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Beaulieu, but now in the Augmentation office, which contains various leases, agreements, appointments

Tradition reports, that the monastery of Beaulieu was formerly numbered among the *mitred abbeyes*, that is, such as enjoyed the honor of sending their abbots, to assist the King in his great council. On consulting however the list of mitred abbies in Fuller's church history the name of Beaulieu does not occur; those mentioned therein, were only twenty-six in number, and are supposed to have been as follows.

1 St. Albans. 2 Glastonbury. 3 St. Austin's Canterbury. 4 Westminster. 5 Edmunds-bury. 6 Peterborough. 7 Colchester. 8 Wesham. 9 Winchelcombe. 10 Crowland. 11 Battale. 12 Reading. 13 Abingdon. 14 Waltham. 15 Shrewsbury. 16 Gloucester. 17 Bardney. 18 Bennet in the Holme. 19

pointments to offices, &c. referring to the said abbey; and at the end of it, are copies of the instruments, under which the abbot, and certain monks of Beaulieu, received pensions from the king.

If doblenes ("deceit") weare deantye ("rare")

And no man could it fynd,

Wheare shoulde a man have plentye,

But in a womanes mynde?

For the sight of this, and other curious original papers, I am indebted to the friendly politeness, of Mr. Caley, of the Augmentation office.

Thorney. 20 Ramsey. 21 Hyde. 22 Malmf-bury. 23 Cirencester. 24 St. Mary York. 25 Selbye. 26 The prior of St. John's of Jerufalem, first and chief baron of England.

Previous indeed to the reign of Edward the third, (at which æra, the right of attending the national council was confined to the heads of the above mentioned religious houses), most of the monasteries of any note in the kingdom were allowed the privilege of sending their respective superiors to parliament; and it is extremely probable that Beaulieu, amongst the rest, might *then* be represented by its abbot, which well accounts for the idea of its having been a mitred abbey. But when the policy of Edward the third diminished the enormous weight of the church in the national council, by restricting the number of ecclesiastical senators, it seems likely that Beaulieu, an abbey situated at a distance from the usual seat of the council, might either voluntarily relinquish its ancient right, or lose it by a stretch of royal prerogative. (See Fuller's Church history, book 6. p. 292).

Among the privileges which papal power had conferred on the monastery of Beaulieu, was the pernicious one of the *sanctuary*; or, of affording protection to such delinquent as escaped,

caped, after the commission of their crimes, into the precincts of the abbey. Here, in the embrace of the church, the criminal sheltered his person, and defied the arm of justice, for the space of forty days; during which time the civil magistrate could not attempt to force him from his place of refuge, without incurring the formidable resentment of the church, and the severest penalties of the law*. This absurd system, by which encouragement was given to vice, justice was perverted, and disorders of every description were introduced, arose, either from extravagant notions of an awful and peculiar sacredness, inherent in all places dedicated to the deity; a sacredness, which was not to be profaned, by the forcible seizure of those who resorted to them for protection; or from an abuse of that ordinance given by the Almighty to the Jews, for erecting cities of refuge, to protect the involuntary shedder of human blood. I am inclined however to imagine it had its origin in

* Qui pacem sanctuarii inter ecclesiam Ripensem violaverit, reus sit bonorum omnium et vitæ. Mon. Ang. tom. I. p. 172. The privilege of sanctuary generally extended thirty paces from the walls of the sacred edifice. See Du Frenes in Voc. Dextros.

the mistakes of superstition ; since we trace its footsteps in the early history of almost all nations*.

The Egyptians had their *asyla* from a very remote period, as several passages in Herodotus inform us. The one in which Paris took refuge with his fair Spartan prize, remained, says that historian, even to his own time†.

The Greeks too attributed this inviolable sanctity to several of their temples‡ ; and as superstition increased amongst them, multiplied

* In the earlier ages of superstition, in this kingdom, the privilege of the sanctuary was allowed to *every church*, according to the following law of Ina. “ Si quis rei capitalis reus ad templum “ confugerit, *vita potior*, et secundum Jus Fasque, compen- “ sato. Si quis verbera promeritus, fani suffugium implorarit, ei verbera remittuntur.” Leges Inæ, c. 5. Lambarde’s Archaionom. p. 2. The same constitution is found in Alfred’s Code. Idem 23. But I apprehend that in after times this indiscriminate allowance of affording protection was resumed; and sanctuary permitted to such sacred edifices only, as royal, or papal authority was pleased to render *asyla*; for thus the law-writers define *sanctuary*. Sanctuarie est un lieu privilegé par le prince, ou souverain gouverneur pour le fauvegarde, du vie d’home, qui est offendour. Sanctuarie n’est forsque come un libertè ou franchise grauntè par le roy à l’abbé, ou spirital gouverneur. Will. Sandford de Placitis Coronæ, lib. II. c. 38. See also Monasticon Anglican. tom. I. p. 172.

† Herod. Euterpe. c. 113.

‡ Euripides in Andron. v. 267.

the *asyla* to such a degree, as to occasion infinite disorders in the different states*.

As for the Romans, their state sprang from a band of vagabonds, who, flying from justice for various and accumulated crimes, sheltered themselves under the broad shade of the Capitolian grove†.

The privilege of sanctuary appears extremely early in the history of our own country. Dunwallo Molmutius, an ancient British king, who flourished four centuries before the arrival of Cæsar here, enacted a law, that temples of the Gods, and the roads which led to them, should enjoy the privilege of sanctuary‡. The Anglo-Saxons had similar institutions, as appears from the laws of Ina, Edgar, and Edward the Confessor§; the latter confirmed the privilege of sanctuary, which had been conferred on Westminster Abbey by the charter of Sebert King of the West-Saxons in 604; of which

* Tacitus Annal. l. III. c. 60.

† Hinc lucum ingentem quem Romulus acer Rettulit. Virg. See Juvenal Sat. 8.

‡ Chron. Johan. Brompt. apud Decem Scrip. v. I. p. 956. Jeffery of Monmouth, 2. c. 17.

§ Lambarde's Archaionom. p. 2 et 138.

curious deed the following is an old translation*.

“ Edward by the Grace of God, King of
 “ Englishmen : I make it to be known to all
 “ generations of the world after me, that by
 “ especial commandment of our holy father,
 “ Pope Leo, I have renewed, and honored
 “ the holy church of the blessed apostle, Saint
 “ Peter of Westminster ; and I order, and establish
 “ for ever, that what person of what
 “ condition or estate soever he be, from
 “ whencesoever he come, or for what offence
 “ or cause it be, either for his refuge into
 “ the said holy place, he be assured of his life,
 “ liberty and limbs. And over this, I forbid
 “ (under the pain of everlasting damnation)
 “ that no minister of mine, or of my successors,
 “ intermeddle them with any of the
 “ goods, lands, or possessions of the said persons,
 “ taking the said sanctuary : for I have
 “ taken their goods and livelihood into my
 “ special protection ; and therefore I grant to
 “ every each of them, (inasmuch as my

* It must not be concealed, that there are many doubts respecting the reality of this point of history mentioned by Stowe. Vide his Survey 2. p. 614. Edition Strype.

“ terrestrial

“ terrestrial power may suffice) all manner of
 “ freedom and joyous liberty ; and whosoever
 “ presumes or doeth contrary to this my grant,
 “ I will, he lose his name, worship, dignity,
 “ and power, and that with the great traytor,
 “ Judas, that betrayed our Saviour, he be in
 “ the everlasting fire of Hell. And I will and
 “ ordaine, that this my grant may endure as
 “ long, as there remayneth in England either
 “ love or dread of the Christian name.”

The clergy, in succeeding ages, found the law of sanctuary too precious and lucrative a privilege, not to guard it with the utmost vigilance ; and accordingly the hand of violence was seldom sacrilegiously laid on such as had thrown themselves under the protection of an asylum. Despotism, or policy however, sometimes tore by force, or seduced by persuasion, the culprit from his retreat. The abbot or prior, too, under whose jurisdiction the sanctuary was, seems to have had a power, of delivering up the transgressors, in very heinous cases. This I infer from the following curious letter, written by John Wells, one of the monks of Hyde, which was a mitred abbey, to the receptor, or steward of Beaulieu ; in answer to some queries, propounded to the
 lord

lord abbot, of the former religious house respecting a murderer, who had taken refuge, in the sanctuary of the latter.

Mayster Refeyver.

“ M. Wellys counsell ys, that as sone
 “ as my lord (meaning the abbot of Beaulieu)
 “ may have a coroner, that the coroner
 “ scholde execute hys offyce, accordyng to
 “ hys dewte ; for the law of Ynglonde requi-
 “ ryth none odyr thyng, but that the chyrche
 “ schal save a thefe fro deth, and not to kepe
 “ a felon, and a morthoror 40 dayes ; but after
 “ my simple councelle, sende for a coroner
 “ shortly, and lat hym execute the law, for
 “ yf the felon wyl not have a coroner, he may
 “ take hym ouzt of sanctuary, and brynge
 “ hym to the Kynge’s gayole, by the law.
 “ My lorde (of Beaulieu) myzth have dely-
 “ veryd hym, yf no man had not pursuyed
 “ afteyr hym. Let not my lorde, ne none
 “ of hys servantes be consente to hys depar-
 “ tinge for yf he wyll goo, and nat after the
 “ forme of law, yt is to hys own jupartie.
 “ Item my lorde of Hyde sayth that yf the
 “ felon wyll take no coroner, that then the
 “ coroner maye sende hym to the gayole.

And

“ Also the coroner schal have hys rewarde, of
 “ the felonys guddys, &c*.”

The evils occasioned by these numerous sanctuaries were of the most serious, and extensive nature. Stowe tells us; “ Unthrifts
 “ riot, and run in debt upon the boldness of
 “ these places. Yea, and rich men run
 “ thither with poor men’s goods, where
 “ they build. There they spend, and bid
 “ their creditors go whistle them. Men’s
 “ wives run thither with their husband’s plate,
 “ and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating them. Thieves bring
 “ thither, their stolen goods, and live thereon.
 “ There they devise robberies. Nightly they
 “ steal out; they rob, and rewe, and kill,
 “ and come in again, as though these places

* Ex Regist. de Niwenham. in bibl. Arundel. fol. 50. The Abbey of Beaulieu seems to have claimed some peculiar privileges, since the following minute occurs in a Harleian MS, which contains some particulars of grants made in Richard the Third’s time. “ Letter to the abbot of Beaulieu, to appear before the
 “ king and council, with all and every such muniments, and
 “ writings, by the which he claymed to have a sanctuary at
 “ Bewley. Given the 15th December An. Prim.” Grose’s Antiq. v. II.

“ gave

“ gave them not only safeguard for the harm
 “ they have done, but a licence to do more*.”

But obvious as the ill effects of these nurseries of iniquity were, the legislature did not attempt to lessen, or correct them, till the reformation swept away the superstitious vanities of popery. The vast immunities of sanctuary were much abridged by Henry the eighth, in the twenty-seventh and thirty-second years of his reign; and utterly lopped off, and abolished, by a statute made in the twenty-first year of James the first†.

The friendly walls of Beaulieu monastery afforded sanctuary and temporary protection, to a female who was not more remarkable for rank and ambition, than for great and accumulated misfortunes; for the unexampled fortitude with which she bore them, and the masculine presence of mind she displayed in the most embarrassing situations. The personage I allude to was the illustrious Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry the sixth. When we behold her, supporting, by her activity and courage, the declining affairs of

* Stowe's Chron. p. 443. See also Sir Thomas Moore's life and reign of Edward Vth.

† Blackstone's Comment. v. IV. p. 332.

the imbecile monarch—cheering the spirits, and directing the operations of his adherents—animating them by her presence, and aiding them with her counsels—undefatigable in contriving and raising resources—intrepid in the hour of danger, and unshaken in the depth of distress—we are struck with admiration: we lose her foibles in the blaze of her qualifications; and almost forget, that her ambition and domineering spirit plunged England into discord and slaughter; and wasted oceans of the best blood the kingdom could boast.

If Margaret at any period of her life, was hurried by misfortunes into temporary despondency; it was at the period of her seeking the asylum of Beaulieu. The human mind indeed, could scarcely meet so complicated a shock as she experienced at this juncture, without depression. Returning, as she imagined, to a triumphant consort; to a reinstatement in that dignity, from which she had been precipitated; and to a full gratification of her revenge by the debasement of her foes; the first news that reached her ears, when she arrived at Weymouth, after a tedious, and uncomfortable voyage, was—the imprisonment of her husband, the destruction of his army,

the death of Earl Warwick, and the elevation of Edward to the throne of England. On this disastrous occasion, Margaret first bent beneath the stroke of misfortune ; and retiring with her young son to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, she, for a short time, indulged in silent disconsolation ; till, roused by the presence of the Earl of Devon, and a few other faithful adherents, she resumed her wonted equanimity, and once more prepared herself for active exertion*.

Another personage whose name occurs in the annals of our country, took refuge in Beaulieu asylum ; this was Perkin Warbeck, the unsuccessful but troublesome impostor, in the reign of Henry the seventh. Utterly unequal to the important fraud he was appointed to carry on, Perkin's spirit and presence of mind, (the exertion of which is so necessary in situations of delicacy) forsook him entirely, in every emergency. Having effected a landing on the west of England, and received a little check before the gates of Exeter, a sudden panic seized him ; which

* Vide Polydore Virgil. p. 521. et infra. Edit. Basil 1534.

was increased by the report of Henry's preparations against him. Under the influence of this, he retired in the night from his camp, attended by a few friends ; and proceeded with all expedition to Beaulieu sanctuary. Here he at length arrived, before a party of horse which had been dispatched after him by the noblemen in Henry's interest, could overtake the fugitive. Lord Daubeney however invested the place, with three hundred men, and precluded every hope of escape*. Im-mured in this religious house he continued some time, till by the promises of the King he was drawn from his retreat, and after making a confession of his imposture, committed to the tower. It is probable the dark policy of Henry the seventh, would not have suffered the unfortunate youth to have long protracted an uncomfortable existence, had not Perkin himself shortened the term of it, by seditious practices whilst in the tower. The King availed himself of these to execute his purpose, and the pretended son of Edward the fourth, expiated his deceit, on the gallows at Tyburn in 1499†.

* Polydore Virgil. p. 598 et infra.

† Lord Verulam's Hist. Hen. VIIth, in Kennett's Collection.

The year after the surrender of Beaulieu-abbey into the hands of Henry the eighth; that monarch, who lavished with profusion, what he gained by extortion, granted (by letters patent dated 29th July, thirtieth year of his reign) the manor of Beaulieu, with all its rights, privileges, and appurtenances (the rectory, and right of patronage excepted) to Thomas Wriothesley Esquire, one of his favorites, who was afterwards created Earl of Southampton. This grant was confirmed by James the first, to Henry Earl of Southampton; and the patronage of the parish church, together with the rectory of Beaulieu, again vested in its lords. The Wriothesley family continued to be possessed of Beaulieu, till the time of William the third, when the estate came into the hands of Ralph Lord Montagu, (afterwards created Duke of Montagu) by his intermarriage with the daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. From him it descended to his son John Duke of Montague; who dying, transmitted it to his two daughters Isabella, and Mary, coheiresses; the former of which married Edward Hussy Montagu, now Earl Beaulieu; and the latter married the late Duke of Montague. The moiety
 belonging

belonging to this nobleman, on his decease, last year, descended to Henry Duke of Buccleugh, who married his daughter; so that the present possessors of Beaulieu manor, are, the Lord Beaulieu, and the Duke of Buccleugh.

This noble estate is twenty-eight miles in circumference; finely wooded with large and valuable timber; is comprised within a ring-fence, and produces a net annual income of four thousand pounds.

Netley abbey is situated about ten miles, due east, from Beaulieu, on that side of the Southampton river. As it was the *offspring* of the monastery we have just described, a few particulars of its ancient, and present state, will not be misplaced, if introduced here.

Its founder is not clearly ascertained, though Tanner, with great probability, says, Henry the third has the right to that title. He draughted a certain number of monks from Beaulieu-abbey, and placed them at Netley, dedicating the edifice to Saint Mary, and Saint Edward*. This account is corroborated by

* Vide Tanner's Not. Monast. de Nettley.

the tenor of Henry's charter, in which he expressly calls himself the founder; and grants (as such) to the monks of Netley, the spot of ground on which their abbey was erected; various manors in its neighbourhood; and the advowson of Schyre-church*. These possessions were increased by the liberality of Edmund Earl of Cornwall, and Robert Ver, who compose the short list of benefactors to Netley abbey†. The names of its abbots which have reached our times, are as follows.

Robert	- - - - -	1255.
Walter	- - - - -	1290.
Henry de Ingleham	- -	1371.
John Stelhard	- - -	1374.
Philip de Cornhampton	-	1387.
John de Gloucester.		
Richard Middleton	- -	1400‡.
Thomas	- - - - -	1527, who

signed, (by his proxy, the abbot de Graciis, in London) the instrument in favor of the divorce, between Henry the eighth, and Catharine his Queen§. This person continued pro-

* Vide Append. N°. 14. 15.

† *Lel. Collect.* v. I. p. 69.

‡ Vide Willis's *Additi. ad Calc.* Tanner's *Not. Mon.*

§ Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey.* Append. p. 158.

bably the abbot of Netley, till the dissolution; at which period, the monastery consisted of himself, and twelve monks, whose possessions amounted to £100. 1s. 8d. per Annum, according to Dugdale; and to £160. 2s. 9½d. according to Speed*.

We shall form but a low idea of the erudition of this fraternity, at the time of the suppression, when we find that the *only book* their library could then boast, was “*Rhetorica Ciceronis*†.”

The ancient splendor of Netley abbey is apparent from its remaining ruins, which exhibit numberless examples of beautiful Gothic architecture. The church, mutilated as it is, forcibly arrests the attention. The lightness of its arches, the tracery of its windows, and the elegant intersections, and rich embossments of the ribs remaining in the roof of the southern transept, are well worth the most minute investigation.

The best approach to these ruins, is from the north-west. Here, they open to the eye

* Tanner's Notitia Monast. de Netley.

† Lelandi Collect. v. I. p. 149.

in an extremely pleasing manner. The southern window, in particular, affords a very picturesque appearance; rearing itself above a dark mass of wood, the sober colour of which, forms a fine contrast to the light airiness of this dismantled ruin.

The situation of this religious house is beautifully sequestered. Gray, who was a man of a contemplative, and melancholy cast, found it a spot entirely congenial to his turn of mind. He describes it in the following amusing *terms*.

“ In the bottom of the woods (concealed
 “ from prophane eyes) are hidden the ruins
 “ of Netley abbey. There may be richer
 “ and greater houses of religion, but the abbot
 “ is content with his situation. See there at
 “ the top of that hanging meadow, under
 “ the shade of those old trees, that bend with
 “ an half circle about it, he is walking slowly
 “ (good man) and bidding his beads, for the
 “ souls of his benefactors, interred in the
 “ venerable pile, that is beneath him. Beyond
 “ yond it, the meadow still descending, nods
 “ a thicket of oaks, that mask the building,
 “ and have excluded a view too garish and
 “ luxuriant for a holy eye. Only on either
 “ side,

“ side, they leave an opening to the blue
 “ glittering sea*.”

The chief remains are the ruins of the church, and some offices belonging to the monastery. For the former of these, we are in some measure indebted, to an occurrence, which, since it happened, has deterred the sacrilegious arm from attempting to assist time in the destruction of this holy edifice.

I extract the story from Browne Willis, who gave implicit credit to the legend. It seems Netley abbey had in the year 1700, come into the possession of Sir Bartlet Lucy, who sold its materials to one Mr. Taylor, a carpenter at Southampton. “ During the
 “ time,” says Willis, “ this man was in treaty
 “ with Sir Bartlet, he was greatly disturbed
 “ by frightful dreams, and as some say, apparitions; particularly by that of a person in
 “ the habit of a monk, who threatened him
 “ with great mischief, if he persisted in his
 “ purpose (that of pulling down the edifice).
 “ One night in particular he dreamed a large
 “ stone from one of the windows fell upon

* Gray's Letters, page 382.

“ him, and killed him. This so terrified him
 “ that he communicated these disturbances to
 “ a particular friend, who advised him to
 “ desist; but avarice, and the contrary advice
 “ of other friends getting the better of his
 “ fears, he concluded the bargain; when at-
 “ tempting to take out some stones from the
 “ bottom of the west wall, the whole body
 “ of a window, fell down upon him, and
 “ crushed him to death*.”

Among other ruins, the abbots kitchen oc-
 curs, with a chimney of a curious construction.
 Nearly opposite to this in the same apartment,
 is a dark aperture, which the rustic antiqua-
 rian of the spot, points out as extending a
 considerable distance under ground. These sub-
 terraneous passages are annexed, by vulgar
 credulity, to almost every old convent in the
 kingdom; and supposed to contain the masses
 of riches which the monks were enabled by
 their avarice to heap together. An idea which
 probably arose from the reports of the visitors
 in Henry the eighth's time, who invented,
 and diligently propagated various stories to

* Browne Willis's Hist. Mitred Abbies. v. II.

lower the cloistered ecclesiastics in the opinion of the people in general, the better to reconcile them to the excesses of the dissolution.

The plate which accompanies this description, is engraven from a drawing, by the accurate pencil of the late lamented Mr. Grose, in my possession. It exhibits a view of the magnificent eastern window of the ancient abbey.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

For the different establishments in the opinion
of the people in general, the order to recon-
sider them to the extent of the situation.
The same which accompanied this drawing
to the chapter from a drawing by the
author of the first part of the first volume.
In my opinion, it exhibits a view of the
different system window of the ancient
Abbey.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

